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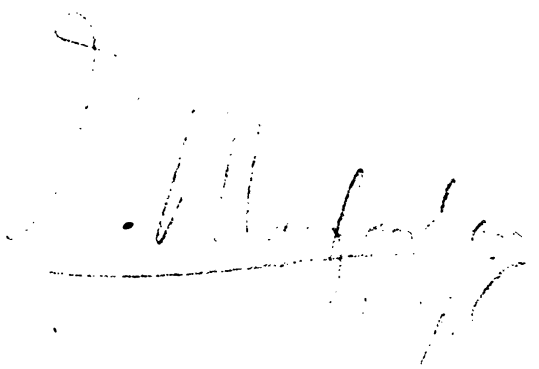

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"There is not any circumstance connected with the internal condition of England which more strongly excites the admiration and envy of foreigners than the degree of perfection to which we have brought our means of internal communication. The skill and labour that have been applied to this object are among the chief exciting causes of that high degree of activity which characterizes and pervades the productive classes in every part of the country. The perfection to which we have carried the means of transporting persons and property from one part of the kingdom to another, has indeed become one of our national characteristics."—G. R. PORTER.

"The great captains of modern civilization, the peaceful conquerors of time and space."—DAILY NEWS.

MEMOIR

OF THE LATE

HENRY BOOTH,

OF THE

LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER,

AND AFTERWARDS OF THE

LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

BY

ROBERT SMILES.

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No less renowned than war."—JOHN MILTON.

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PREFACE.

THE greater portion of the matter in the following sketch has already appeared in a series of articles in the *Railway News*, and is now reproduced with the consent of the proprietor of that journal.

In collecting information concerning the late Mr. Booth for the articles referred to, and especially in examining such of his many writings, upon widely different subjects, as were accessible, the writer of this sketch became deeply impressed with the belief that even Mr. Booth's public services as one of the earliest promoters of railways, and the important part he has performed in the successful practical development of the railway system, are not as generally known, or as well appreciated, as his merits and the value of his services demand. But, further, although Mr. Booth's long and useful public life was mainly devoted to the promotion of railway interests, he was much more than a "Railway Man." His convictions and sympathies, his moral and intellectual efforts and aspirations, had scope and

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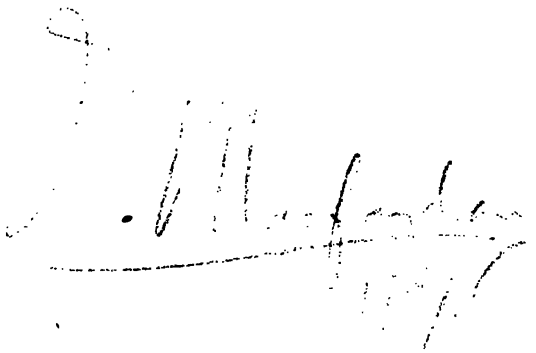

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exercise in a field far wider than that prescribed or bounded by his professional duties and vocations. It has hence been considered opportune and proper, in reproducing these articles, not only to revise and correct, as has been done, the matter that has been already published, but also to amplify it by brief references to topics touching Mr. Booth's life and labours, that do not come strictly within the *rôle* of a railway paper.

There is no pretension of offering a *Biography* of Mr. Booth in the following pages; they contain little more than a mere compilation. "Strung" have been said to be "better than scattered pearls." The Compiler has endeavoured to collect a number of facts concerning the subject of the sketch, and all that he has contributed is, what he fears some readers may consider, but "a sorry string."

R. S.

New Cross, London, S.E.

November, 1869.

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CHAPTER I.

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IT would be an error to date the commencement of the railway era from any year, or even century; or to award to any single person, or even any dozen men, the honour of being the authors or originators of the railway system. Centuries have elapsed since the germ of the "permanent way" existed in the rude stone and wooden tramways of the northern collieries, which were succeeded by cast-iron plates, again by wrought iron, and, lastly, by steel rails. In like manner, as regards the application of steam as a motive power, many centuries have elapsed since inventors first directed their attention to the subject. The names of the inventors and improvers of permanent way have, for the greater part, passed completely into oblivion, and the railroad, as we enjoy it at the present day, is all the record and monument we have of these nameless benefactors of the world, and is the ultimate bequest which has

fallen to us from the cumulative legacies of progressive improvements. The connecting links between the results of the earlier inquirers and inventors in relation to the power of steam as a force are not so readily apparent. The Æolipile of Hero of Alexandria, indeed, stimulated many centuries afterwards the inventive faculties of Branca of Bologna and Solomon de Caus the Norman, who, in turn, probably inspired the Marquis of Worcester; after whom came Morland, Papin, Savery, Newcomen, and James Watt. So also, in the application of steam power to purposes of locomotion, as is so well narrated in Mr. Samuel Smiles's "Lives of the Engineers," there have been many laborious pioneers, who demand honourable mention, and have well earned the gratitude of posterity—Cugnot, Murdock, Trevithick, Blenkinsop, the Stephensons, and with them the late Henry Booth, of Liverpool.

Giving the early inventors due credit for their labours, and making ample acknowledgment of them, it will not be too much to say that the accumulated results of their application culminated in the third decade of the present century, and that the railway era commenced with the application of these results to the Liverpool and Manchester line—the germ of the first great railway system in the world, and which still, as the London and North-Western, retains its front rank as the premier railway of the United Kingdom. Chronological accuracy may seem to require that precedence should be conceded to the Stockton and Darlington line, opened in 1825. It is true that the promoters of that line had a Parliamentary skirmish, in which

they sustained defeat; but neither their Parliamentary experience nor their operations after the line was at work could have commanded the attention of the civilized world in the same degree as the Liverpool and Manchester line, which furnished occasion for the first great railway battle in Parliament, in which the projectors encountered, and eventually defeated, prejudices and powers that would have cowed and crushed men less bold, persevering, and determined than they. The Liverpool and Manchester line was the first illustration and example of railway working and administration upon an important scale. It supplied a novel and hitherto untried means of communication between two of the most important localities in the kingdom, the great commercial port of Liverpool, and Manchester, the capital of the cotton manufacturing districts. Intrinsically, in its construction, in its working, and in its triumphant success, in all respects, as well as in its being the parent of the London and North-Western, the Liverpool and Manchester line is, we think, fairly entitled to the designation of having been the pioneer of the railway system of the United Kingdom and of the world; and the men to whose wisdom, courage, and perseverance the world is indebted for the projection of that line are well entitled to niches in the temple of Fame.

It is a source of melancholy reflection that the men of force and foresight to whom the world is indebted for the application and development of the most important invention of modern times, that has been followed by more stupendous commercial,

social, and national results than any other public improvement, should be disappearing,—have already, indeed, disappeared, from amongst us. It is useless to mourn over the inevitable; we can only submit with what philosophy we may to the course of nature, to the necessary end that must come. They have only surrendered, as all must do, to the arrest of the "fell sergeant"; they have claimed their birthright, for

"'Tis the great birthright of mankind to die."

Forty-five years have elapsed since the arduous and resolute projectors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway entered upon what was considered their wild, visionary, and impracticable project. The work they had cut out for themselves was work for men, not for boys; men they were in spirit and power, and men, it may be supposed, they were in years also; this would bring survivors up to more than the allotted span of human life—threescore years and ten. We do not know that there are any of them now surviving:—they, and the eminent and able men who were engaged during the ten or twelve years after they commenced their labours, in promoting, laying out, and making railways, or in administering their affairs, have gone, some of them long since, to their fathers, with good works following them we devoutly hope, but indubitably with good and enduring works left behind them.

Mr. Henry Booth was born in Rodney-street, Liverpool, on the 4th of April, 1788. He was the eldest son of Mr. Thomas Booth, of Liverpool, corn-merchant, a gentleman of good means and position, respected and influential amongst his fellow towns-

men. The family of which Henry was a member consisted of five sons and four daughters, Henry being the third in age. Mr. Booth, the father, had sound and liberal ideas on the subject of early training and instruction, and, fortunately, he possessed means to carry his views upon the subject into practical effect. One, or more, of the younger sons of the family had their ordinary school instruction supplemented by attendance at Cambridge University. Henry, who was intended for mercantile life, was entrusted for instruction and training to the Rev. Dr. Shepherd, of Gateacre, a small village about six miles from Liverpool. Dr. Shepherd was the minister of one of the old Presbyterian chapels, of which a number existed at that time in Lancashire and the adjoining counties, and which exist still, indeed, although not associated with any of the Presbyterian denominations of later days. In process of time the old so-called "Presbyterian" chapels became in name, as they had long been in doctrine, Unitarian. A fair degree of attention to the claims of his small church and congregation absorbed but a limited portion of Dr. Shepherd's time and energies, and he was left free to devote the remainder, which he did with watchfulness, patience, skill, and success, to the training and instruction of as many boys entrusted to him as the Parsonage would accommodate. The time has now passed away for obtaining information from those who knew him and them, concerning the personal character of Dr. Shepherd, or the band of brothers of whom he had charge. It is now hopeless to inquire concerning boyish traits exhibited

seventy years ago. Only one of Dr. Shepherd's pupils survives, as we have been informed, and he was considerably younger than Henry Booth, so cannot be reasonably expected to be able to estimate his character, or to recall or tell much, or anything, about him, not having been gifted with powers and habits of observation that would be unnatural in a boy, or of memory not common to either boys or men. From the best information we can command, we learn that Dr. Shepherd was a scholarly, cultivated man, richly endowed with the spirit and qualifications indispensable in a teacher, and that he exercised constant watchfulness and care in training the moral natures, as well as in storing the minds and developing the intellectual powers of the youths committed to him. The result was that they received the inestimable boon of what, although administered by an antiquated mode, would, even in the present day, be not unworthy of the designation—a "liberal education." That Henry Booth had been a diligent or apt scholar, or that he had sedulously followed up the instruction received in boyhood in after-life, is amply manifest in the literary ability displayed in such writings as he has left, which the public and his friends have reason to regret are so few in number, so restricted in scope, and unambitious in design and appeal. Mr. Booth wrote only, or for the greater part, upon special subjects, for special purposes, and addressed—excepting in his newspaper letters and articles—limited circles; his literary productions are, consequently, in most cases, of an ephemeral character, or, at least, only known and appreciated within a comparatively narrow range.

Nine out of ten writers of pretentious books, some of which attain to a fair degree of popularity, have not a tithe of the vigour, fluency, information, versatility, spirit, and general literary ability displayed in the pamphlets upon various subjects thrown off by Mr. Booth during the intervals of his fully occupied, busy life.

Mr. Henry Booth's proclivities showed themselves unmistakably in early life. From his boyhood he manifested an ardent love of books, his twin charmer being practical mechanics. He should have been trained and instructed for a mechanical engineer, rather than a corn-merchant—for to such aims he paid his devoirs with as much assiduity as the limited opportunities he could command for his exercise of the gift permitted. In his reading he evinced decided interest in poetry, and wrote in boyhood and youth some fugitive pieces. He had also a decidedly pronounced artistic taste, and possessed a keen eye for correct proportion. In his more mature years the pressure upon his time and energies by the demands of practical life, prevented his cultivation of the muses, and his giving much of time or attention to polite literature. It may be inferred that it was only poetry of the highest class that attracted his attention, as his taste was evidently for strong meat, whether served up as poetry or prose. It is, we think, conclusive evidence of the native robustness and subtlety of his intellect, that one of the earliest of his many published writings was upon the profoundly metaphysical subject of "Moral Capability," involving consideration of the recondite questions of "free will," "necessity," and, in a word,

the most grave and abstruse speculations that can occupy the powers of the human mind.* Although constrained to discontinue the gratification of the poetic sense, the æsthetic sense could not be "shunted" by any amount of pressure, and it continued in lively exercise throughout his whole life. Badly drawn or inharmoniously coloured pictures, buildings ill-proportioned or incongruous in their details, and objects, whether belonging to the domains of architecture, sculpture, or painting, which offended against Mr. Booth's conceptions of proportion and beauty, were sources of positive pain to him. He always regretted that he had never had leisure or opportunity for foreign travel. Those who knew his powers of observation, absorption, and assimilation, believe that his was precisely the nature to benefit greatly in the enlargement and correction of mental possessions and powers by such opportunities.

As touching Mr. Booth's liking for mechanical pursuits and handicraft occupation, a circumstance, unimportant in itself, but interesting as an indication, may be here referred to. In the long past days of Mr. Booth's boyhood, Rodney-street, as well as others of even the older streets of Liverpool, was not so closely lined with houses as it is now. Mr. Thomas Booth's house had a garden in the rear, and on one side a large vacant space, now built upon, which was used by the children as a playground. Mr. Booth, who seems to have been a kind

* This essay was read before a Liverpool Philosophical Society, and afterwards published in the *Monthly Repository*, London, 1814.

and wisely indulgent father, took his children to the circus to witness the wonderful exploits of Ducrow, *alias* Craw, or some other itinerant equestrian of the period. The youngsters were doubtless greatly excited and vastly pleased by the visit, and Henry at once turned it to account. It is not recorded whether the boys held a council on the subject, but the probability is that Henry held office as director of the sports, without election, by virtue of seniority and superior capability. However this may be, he resolved, with the hearty concurrence of his younger brothers, Tom, Charles, and James, but without hope of effective assistance from them in the most difficult part of the enterprise, to establish a circus! He undertook, of necessity, at the same time willingly, the conjoined important offices of constructor of the circus, chief saddler, property-man (in theatrical parlance), carriage-builder, horse-breaker, master of the horse, with any other administrative offices necessary to be filled in carrying the project into effect. His first piece of work was to mark off and lay down suitably the circus ring, which was situated in the playground before referred to. "Dandy," the docile family pony—a real live pony and a great pet of the boys—had next to be "broken" to the ring, then furnished with a flat-topped saddle, suitable for equestrian performances: this piece of work Henry executed to the entire satisfaction of every member of the troupe. The provision of a long rein, by which "Dandy" could be driven from the centre of the ring, was a bagatelle to the master saddler. The carriage-builder's functions were more difficult and

important, including, as they did, the construction of a war-chariot of somewhat similar pattern to those used in the time of Cyrus. But the chariots of Cyrus had probably tolerably straight runs for the greater part, and had never to describe curves as stiff as the periphery of the boy's playground circus. "Dandy" would have had an awkward load indeed, the charioteers would have had a very uncomfortable ride, and the progress of the car round the ring would have been anything but the poetry of motion, if Henry had not been able to adapt the axles to the curve more skilfully and scientifically than is done in the railway carriages of the present day, the rigid rectangular axles of which cause the wheels to grind the rails of the curves round which they pass. The young amateur mechanic solved practically, in so far as the circumstances of "the company" were concerned, the "radial axle" problem, which has engaged so much attention since that time. He so contrived the axles of the circus carriage that they could be adjusted at right angles with the body of the vehicle, for an ordinary straight course, or as perfect radii from the centre of the ring, which gave a true, smooth, and easy motion. We are unable to give particulars as to the nature of the performances: they were probably of a very simple character, as "Dandy" would not be likely to acquire readily, and so perfectly as to make summersaults quite safe, the steady amble of the circus hack. One of the members of the hearty and happy company of juvenile equestrians, under the kindly guardianship and direction of their eldest brother Henry, was

a little fellow about ten years younger than Henry, who was many years afterwards publicly and honourably known as James Booth, Esq., C.B., for a long period Counsel to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and then Secretary for many years to the Board of Trade.

Mr. Booth received the first portion of his business education in the counting-house of his father, who was a corn-merchant in Liverpool, as already mentioned. After remaining connected with his father for a considerable time, he commenced business on his own account in the corn trade. It is strange, yet true, that it should have to be said concerning a man of so much ability, afterwards so fully applied and proved, that he was an unsuccessful merchant. Buying, selling, and getting gain in the ordinary way of merchandising was not his vocation, and he never did much in any mercantile business. The probability seems to be that the life of this remarkable and gifted man, who came to the front in a movement which has conferred the most signal advantages upon the nation and the world, would have been a failure had he continued in the corn trade. But it is as a railway man that we have mainly to do with the subject of this sketch, and we need not further enlarge upon this point.

Mr. Booth fulfilled the ordinary destinies of humanity. He lived and loved and married, and had sons and daughters. He enjoyed keenly and reciprocated warmly, although quietly and with little of audible or visible demonstration, the solace of the affections. He married on the 27th August, 1812, the eldest daughter of Abraham Crompton,

Esq., of Chorley Hall. The venerable lady survives the partner of her life, with whom she has spent so many happy years, and it is a painfully touching circumstance that by reason of blindness, with which she is now afflicted, she was denied the melancholy consolation of a last fond look of the departing companion of her life. Mr. Booth died at his residence, Eastbourne, Prince's Park, Liverpool, on the 28th of March, 1869, having completed within a few days his 81st year. He fell asleep rather than died of illness, full of years and honours, aweary through the hard work of a long, busy, and eminently useful life. He dropped as a shock of corn fully ripe, in due season, and was not killed by the canker-worm. "His old age was crowned and blessed: he was happy in himself, satisfied with the world, thankful that he had lived, looking to the past without shame, to the future without fear."

Mr. Booth leaves three daughters and one son to mourn their parting with one of the best and kindest of fathers. He was interred on April 1st, at the ancient chapel of Toxteth Park. The funeral, as became the retiring, unpretending character of the man, was private, and the arrangements were almost severe in their simplicity. Many eminent official and other inhabitants of Liverpool, magistrates and others, joined the simple *cortége* in their carriages, and stood round the grave that received the mortal remains of their respected and venerated friend.

CHAPTER II.

Thomas Gray, of Nottingham.—William James, first projector of the Liverpool and Manchester line.—Henry Booth enters upon public life.—First prospectus.—New edition.—Short statement of advantages.

In 1820 Mr. Thomas Gray, of Nottingham, entered with enthusiasm upon his project for extending railways over the kingdom, and published his "Observations on a General Iron Railway, &c." Mr. Gray memorialized Government upon the subject, but excited, it may be supposed, more of ridicule than admiration, excepting in the minds of a few men of superior force and discernment, who felt the desirableness of such improved means of communication for general traffic, and believed in the practicability of the scheme. In 1822 Mr. William James, of London, endeavoured, without success, to obtain support for the construction of a railway between Liverpool and Manchester. Although unsuccessful, the project never slumbered after that date, and James was employed afterwards for a short time under Stephenson in surveying the line. In 1822 Mr. Henry Booth may be said to have entered upon his public career as a promoter, afterwards as a director, but more especially as the devoted honorary

secretary of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. He here entered upon a sphere of activity congenial to his tastes and predilections, in which full scope was afforded for the exercise of his powers—first as an active and able promoter; again as a practical scientific man, and eventually as a chief officer of the Liverpool and Manchester line, and of the vast system into which it grew. The first prospectus of the board, or rather of the committee, as they designate themselves, is before us, and as an historical document of importance, invites extract. The committee list embraces twenty-seven names, including that of Charles Lawrence, Esq., then Mayor of Liverpool, chairman, with four deputy-chairmen, including Messrs. Robert Gladstone and Joseph Sanders, with William Rathbone and other well-known names of men who entered heartily and laboured perseveringly in the long and arduous work which they had voluntarily undertaken. This prospectus and the editions that followed, with numerous reports and other documents, were written by Mr. Henry Booth. The case is strongly put in the first prospectus, of the importance of a safe and cheap mode of transit. The superiority of railroads as compared with canals, in cheapness and expedition for the conveyance of merchandise, is insisted upon. The course of the line, according to the first survey, is next described. It was to pass northwards from Prince's Dock to Bootle, and thence eastwards, passing in its course to the north of Knowsley Park and St. Helen's, and thence nearly due east to Manchester. This course, it is stated, had been selected with the desire that it might be unobjectionable with reference to indi-

vidual and local interests. The estimate, including locomotives and contingencies, is put down at £400,000. The merchandise passing daily between Liverpool and Manchester was estimated at 1,000 tons per day, the average length of time of passage 36 hours, and the charge 15s. per ton. By the railroad it was proposed to convey goods in four or five hours. The restrictive effect upon productive industry of the slow and costly character of the mode of transit by water conveyance is ably pointed out; and it is maintained that the public have "but one security—competition; and the proof of this assertion may be drawn from the fact that shares in the Old Quay Navigation, of which the original cost was £70, have sold as high as £1,250 each!" The canals, it is further stated, are inadequate to perform the work of conveying goods regularly and punctually at all seasons, through deficiency of water in summer and frosts in winter. They are further objectionable as modes of carriage, from the pilferage for which they give facilities, extensively taken advantage of, to the loss of the owners of the goods. From these evils the railroad would be entirely free. In addition to the revenue from the transport of goods, it was expected that large receipts would be derived from the carriage of coals. Among other advantages likely to accrue, was the advancement in the commercial prosperity of Ireland, by shortening the time of conveyance, practically diminishing the distance, and effecting saving in the cost of carriage. Mr. Booth, as the representative of his coadjutors, then goes on to state that "in the present state of trade and of commercial enterprise

despatch is no less essential than economy. Merchandise is frequently brought across the Atlantic from New York to Liverpool in twenty-one days; while, owing to the various causes of delay above enumerated, goods have in some instances been longer on their passage from Liverpool to Manchester. But this reproach must not be perpetual. The advancement in mechanical science renders it unnecessary; the good sense of the community makes it impossible. Let it not, however, be imagined that were England to be tardy, other countries would pause in the march of improvement. Application has been made on behalf of the Emperor of Russia for models of the locomotive engine, and other of the Continental Governments have been duly apprised of the important schemes for the facilitating of inland traffic now under discussion by the British public. In the United States of America also they are fully alive to the important results to be anticipated from the introduction of railroads, a gentleman from the United States having recently arrived in Liverpool, with whom it is the principal object to collect the necessary information in order to the establishment of a railway to connect the great rivers Potomac and Ohio."

The next paragraph is curiously interesting, as including the only reference made in this important document to the expectations entertained of *passenger* traffic. The reference is made in *two lines* out of about two and a half foolscap pages:—"The immediate and prominent advantages to be anticipated from the proposed railroads are increased facilities for the general operations of commerce,

arising out of that punctuality and despatch which will attend the transit of merchandise between Liverpool and Manchester, as well as an immense pecuniary saving to the trading community. But the inhabitants at large of these populous towns will reap their full share of direct and immediate benefit. Coal will be brought to market in greater plenty at a reduced price; and farming produce of various kinds will find its way from greater distances and at more reasonable rates. To the landholders also in the vicinity of the line the railroad offers important advantages, in extensive markets for their mineral and agricultural produce, as well as in a facility of obtaining lime and manure at a cheap rate in return. Moreover, as a cheap and expeditious means of conveyance for *travellers*, the railway holds out the fair prospect of a public accommodation, the magnitude and importance of which cannot be immediately ascertained." The writer suggests that a branch line to Bolton may at a future time be constructed with advantage, which would "bring that extensive manufacturing district into rapid and direct communication with this port."

The issue of the prospectus immediately produced great commotion among the menaced interests, and caused them to sound an alarm. On the 25th November, 1824, another edition of the prospectus was issued, with a foot-note stating that "the Leeds and Liverpool, the Birmingham, the Grand Trunk, and other canal companies, having issued circulars calling upon 'every canal and navigation company in the kingdom' to oppose *in limine*, and by a united effort, the establishment of railroads, wherever con-

templated, I have most earnestly to solicit your active exertions on behalf of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad Company, to counteract the avowed purpose of the canal proprietors," &c. This note was of course signed by Mr. Lawrence, as chairman.

The committee, using all diligence, were prepared for the session of 1825, and Mr. Booth, to whom, as has been said, the preparation of all important documents was entrusted, as well as numerous other onerous and important duties, prepared "A short statement of the advantages offered to the public by the proposed railroad between Liverpool and Manchester." This publication, designed to conciliate public support, was also signed by the chairman, and bears date January 29, 1825, just before the commencement of the Parliamentary session. It is accompanied by a plan of the projected railroad, and shows also the courses of the navigations. The statement gives the information, *inter alia*, that the distance between Liverpool and Manchester by the proposed railroad would be 32½ miles, whereas by the turnpike-road it was 36 miles; by the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, including the navigation of the Mersey, 50 miles; by the Old Quay, or Mersey and Irwell Navigation, including the Mersey, 50 miles; and by the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, 56 miles. That the time of conveyance by the railroad would be five or six hours—a very liberal allowance, as it seems nowadays, when the distance is accomplished within the hour—whereas the ordinary time taken by water-conveyance was thirty-six hours. That the charges by rail would be less than by water. That the time of deli-

very by rail would always be certain, and not affected by the frosts, droughts, or other natural impediments to which the navigations were subjected. That since the canals had been made the trade of the port had increased many hundred-fold. That it would be proved before Parliament that great difficulty had long existed in obtaining vessels to convey goods by canal, and that great loss and detriment had thus been sustained by the commercial community. That it would be proved that the accommodation provided by the canal companies, as regarded vessels and warehouses, fell far short of the public requirements, and that the companies had recently combined to raise freights to a very extravagant rate. That the railroad would afford the additional accommodation required, and would prevent future combinations, and would destroy a monopoly without destroying property; as the canals would still be profitable from increased business. That the railroad would be a means of introducing Irish produce into the consuming districts of this country at a lower rate; the difference being a bonus to Ireland. That the undertaking was not the result of the then existing mania for projects, but had been begun in 1822, and had been maturing since that time. That it had been forced upon the projectors by necessity, and that they had commenced and conducted it solely with a view to the public advantage; and that they trusted that they would receive the support of Parliament.

The famous Parliamentary contest commenced about two months after the date of the last quoted document.

CHAPTER III.

The Parliamentary contest.—Counsel retained.—Mr. Booth's services.—The Bill defeated.—Renewed application to Parliament.—Messrs. Rennie engaged as Engineers.—Another Prospectus.—The Act obtained.

SINCE the session of 1825 there have been many keen and protracted contests before committees of both Houses of Parliament upon petitions for railway bills, and enormous amounts of money have been expended upon such contests; but there have been few Parliamentary battles more protracted, resolute, or costly, and none more interesting and important, than that which took place in connection with the Liverpool and Manchester line. The petition for the bill was presented on the 8th of February. On the 9th the Committee on Standing Orders declared that these orders had been complied with. On the 18th the bill was read a first time; and a second time, after a debate, on the 2nd March, Mr. Huskisson and Henry, afterwards Lord, Brougham speaking, amongst others, in support of the bill. On the 21st of March proceedings were commenced in committee by the opening speech of Mr. Adam, as leading counsel for the promoters. Mr. Adam was supported by Mr. Serjeant Spankie, Mr. Joy, and Mr. William Brougham. The opposi-

tion was led by Mr. Harrison; Mr. Alderson (afterwards Baron), Mr. Parke (afterwards Baron), Mr. M'Donald, Mr. Earle, and Mr. Cullen, being on the same side. The committee upon the bill was a much more imposing court than the Parliamentary committees upon private bills of these latter days. It consisted, if we mistake not, of about eighty members, who took the duty now discharged by four members, with a referee, now and then, as a make-weight. General Gascoigne was chairman of the committee, which sat for thirty-eight days. On the 31st of May, after thirty-seven witnesses, and an indefinite number of speeches, had been heard against the bill, the preamble was declared to have been proven by a vote of thirty-seven members in favour of the bill, to thirty-six against it. The majority of one on the preamble was too small to be conclusive, and the contest was continued on the vital clauses. On the 1st of June, the thirty-eighth day of the committee's sitting, the room was twice cleared, and counsel, agents, and parties were, on each of the two occasions, called in to be informed—first, that the clause in which it was proposed that the company should have power to make a railway; and, second, that they should have power to purchase lands, had been "put and negatived." This was, of course, utter defeat, and a decision that would have been given in a form more creditable to the committee in a straightforward rejection of the preamble.

Mr. Henry Booth was not examined by the committee, probably from his reluctance to appear as a witness, the fact being—as was well known to all who knew him intimately—that he was, notwith-

standing his remarkable ability, of a singularly quiet, diffident, and retiring disposition. He had much greater facility of expression and power with the pen than with the tongue, and always preferred writing to oral utterance as the medium for the deliverance of his opinions upon important subjects. There is conclusive internal evidence, however, in the record of the proceedings before the committee, in comparing the scope and character of the speeches in support of the bill, and the evidence of the witnesses, with the allegations in the prospectus and "short statement" prepared by Mr. Booth, to which we have already referred, that that gentleman had taken an active and responsible part in getting up the case, in the preparation of counsel's briefs, and, possibly, in "coaching" the witnesses. In concert with Mr. Joseph Sanders, who was designated by Mr. Booth "the father of the undertaking," he laboured devotedly night and day, with concentrated energy, for the promotion of the object. On these two gentlemen mainly devolved the duties, amongst others, of getting up evidence, arranging and accompanying deputations, whether to Darlington and Newcastle, to witness the performances of the locomotive-engine and the working of the railroads, or to the members of Parliament supposed to be favourable to their project. The defeat in the Commons' committee was a heavy blow and sore discouragement to all concerned; but although cast down, they were not dismayed. They had placed a large mass of valuable and important evidence upon record, and were determined that their labours should not be abandoned or fruitless. No fewer

than twenty-three witnesses were examined upon what may be called the commercial, in contradistinction to the engineering division of the inquiry. Among these witnesses in support of the bill were John Gladstone, Esq., M.P., afterwards Sir John, Baronet, father of the future premier; the late Sir William Brown, of Free Library celebrity; and a number of the principal merchants, brokers, carrying agents, manufacturers, and others of Liverpool and Manchester. The evidence of these witnesses occupied the first twelve days of the committee's sittings, and they proved incontestably the allegations in the prospectus as to the disadvantages and losses sustained by the merchants of Liverpool and the manufacturers of Manchester from the delays, difficulties, uncertainty, and cost involved in the transit of raw material and of manufactured goods between the two localities. The weak point in the promoters' case was, unquestionably, certain inaccuracies in the levels and sections, for which the great self-taught engineer, George Stephenson, had to stand sponsor. The survey he had necessarily intrusted to others, by whom he was badly served from lack of skill, rather than of will, to do their duty worthily and well. Competent surveyors were not a numerous class in those days. It may be mentioned as a painful illustration of conscious incompetency on the part of one of the surveyors on Chat Moss, that certain errors into which he had fallen in taking his levels, and the defeat of the promoters, so preyed upon his mind as to drive him to suicide.

Immediately after the rejection of the bill, on the 1st of June, action was taken by the promoters with

a view to an application to Parliament in the next session. Mr. Booth, as honorary secretary, in conjunction with his co-labourers, at once arranged a meeting of the members of Parliament who were supposed to be favourable to their project, and on the 4th of June—a prompt proceeding—the promoters met in the Royal Hotel, St. James's Street, with twenty-one of their Parliamentary supporters, for conference. In his admirable "Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway," Mr. Booth gives a brief report of the proceedings at the conference, and records the resolutions (drafted by himself, it may be assumed) which were adopted at the meeting. General Gascoigne, chairman of the committee upon the bill, presided. On the motion of Mr. Huskisson, seconded by Mr. W. Peel, it was unanimously resolved "That it is the opinion of this meeting that, for the purpose of insuring increased facility, cheapness, and despatch in the very extensive intercourse in merchandise and manufactured goods between the towns of Liverpool and Manchester, and also in the general trade between this great manufacturing district and Ireland, it is expedient to provide additional and improved means of conveyance between Liverpool and Manchester."

It was also resolved unanimously, on the motion of Mr. Spring Rice, seconded by Mr. W. Bagwell, "That the failure of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Bill during the present session, in consequence of the rejection of the two enacting clauses, after the preamble of the bill had been proved, does not appear to this meeting an event which ought to discourage the subscribers from renewing their appli-

cation the next session of Parliament, should it appear to the subscribers advisable to carry this important measure."

The promoters adopted, vigorously and promptly, the necessary measures for a renewed application to Parliament, one of their first steps being the engagement, on the 1st of July, 1825, of Messrs. John and George Rennie as engineers, with instructions to make a new survey. It may be supposed that the promoters put Mr. Stephenson aside with reluctance, but personal considerations could not be permitted to stand in the way of their determination to employ every means in their power to insure success. Mr. George Stephenson had not then the world-wide reputation which he afterwards attained, and in the levels and sections of the first survey he had been confessedly at fault. It was naturally supposed that the engagement of the Messrs. Rennie, who had a recognized reputation as engineers, would greatly strengthen the case. And this consideration was held paramount to all others. On the 12th August the promoters determined to adopt the southern route afterwards carried into execution. This involved, in the tunnel, the Olive Mount rock cutting and other works, much heavier cost than the line originally proposed. The capital was consequently raised from £400,000 to £510,000.

A fresh prospectus was prepared by Mr. Booth, and issued in December, 1825. It is accompanied by a well-executed map of the new line. The proceedings before the Parliamentary committee are briefly reviewed in the new prospectus, and explanations given of the course that had been pursued to

obviate certain difficulties and objections. The prominent and unequivocal advantages calculated to accrue from the construction of the railroad are briefly and forcibly recapitulated, and the document concludes with the declaration that "the committee are determined to relax no efforts to bring about the honourable and speedy accomplishment of the great work in which they have engaged."

In the first week of February, 1826, a deputation of the committee, with Mr. Booth as honorary secretary, proceeded to London to promote and watch over their case in Parliament. On the 7th of February the petition for the bill was presented to the House of Commons by General Gascoigne; and, having passed successfully the several stages of the first and second readings, and through committee, the bill was read a third time in the Commons on the 6th of April. On the following day it was read a first time in the House of Lords, and early in May, after passing through committee, was read a third time and passed in the Upper House without a division.

CHAPTER IV.

Formation of the Company.—George Stephenson re-appointed Engineer.—Henry Booth, Managing Director.—Motive power for traction.—The Locomotive.—Henry Booth, the "Rocket," and the Multitubular Boiler.—Robert Stephenson's testimony.—Henry Booth's coupling screws, buffers, and lubricating boxes for railway trains and carriages.

THE passing of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Act of 1826 marks an important era in the history of railway enterprise, and in the public life of the subject of this sketch. Now that the promoters were incorporated as a company, and the execution of their great and novel project was before them, involving numerous complex and important business details, a competent executive had to be appointed. Charles Lawrence, Esq., chairman of the committee, was appointed chairman of the board of directors, and John Moss, Esq., deputy-chairman. The directors had already received ample evidence of the business qualities of Mr. Henry Booth. Perfectly competent to judge of his fitness for the post, they invited him to accept the position and duties of chief executive officer, combining the functions of secretary and treasurer. This important post he entered upon and retained for many years. His charge was afterwards extended to the Grand Junction line to Birmingham, and ultimately, on the fusion of the

Liverpool and Manchester line, the Grand Junction, and the London and Birmingham into the London and North-Western, in 1846, Mr. Booth was appointed secretary for the northern section of that great confederation. The onerous nature of Mr. Booth's duties, and the admirably methodical and efficient manner in which he discharged them, are abundantly evident in the full and elaborate details respecting the progress, cost, and execution of the works, which he prepared from time to time for the information of the directors and shareholders; including the numbers, weights, quantities, and costs of bricks made and used, of masonry, tunnelling, rock-cutting, embankments, rails, chairs, sleepers, rolling stock, and a multitude of items arranged under numerous other heads of account.

One of the first and most important acts of the directors was the appointment of a resident engineer. They were desirous of having the services of Messrs. Rennie in the supervision of the works. Although there had been errors in the levels and sections of the first survey, the directors had never lost faith in the experience and ability of Mr. George Stephenson, whom they believed the man of all others on whom they could most implicitly rely for the execution of the works. The Messrs. Rennie were willing to hold office as engineers-in-chief, with the stipulation that they should have the appointment of the resident engineer. This proposition the directors could not accept, but at once appointed Mr. George Stephenson their principal engineer. From the cordial relations that had subsisted to that time between Mr. Booth and Mr. Stephenson, and the uninterrupted and

ardent friendship maintained between them ever afterwards, it may be inferred that Mr. Booth was more than an assenting party to the recall of Mr. Stephenson.

The works were commenced in June, 1826, and prosecuted with varying rapidity and success to their ultimate completion in 1830. The directors were their own contractors, with Mr. Booth as managing director in all the multifarious departments of activity. In addition to his secretarial and financial duties, Mr. Booth also, to a certain extent, discharged those of consulting engineer. In anticipation of the opening of the line, the consideration of the kind of power to be employed for traction, whether horses, fixed engines, or locomotives, occupied much of the time and attention of the directors. Stephenson, their engineer, held stoutly by the locomotive; Mr. Booth had a taste for mechanical pursuits, as has already been stated, and had given a good deal of attention to various departments of applied science. He seems to have been acquainted with the observations of Coulomb and Vince on friction, and he was also an advocate for the locomotive. The directors received communications upon the subject from all classes of persons, recommending all sorts of projects. England, America, and Continental Europe all contributed their schemes. Quoting from Mr. Booth's account—"The friction of the carriages was to be reduced so low that a silk thread would draw them, and the power to be applied was to be so vast as to rend a cable asunder. Hydrogen gas and high-pressure steam—columns of water and columns of

mercury—a hundred atmospheres and a perfect vacuum—machines working in a circle without fire or steam, generating power at one end of the process and giving it out at the other—carriages that conveyed every one its own railway—wheels within wheels, to multiply speed without diminishing power—with every complication of balancing and counterbalancing forces, to the *ne plus ultra* of perpetual motion—every scheme which the restless ingenuity or prolific imagination of man could devise was liberally offered to the company. The difficulty was to choose and decide."

At this juncture two of the directors and Mr. Booth were deputed, in October, 1828, to proceed to Darlington and Newcastle to inspect and report upon the railways and the locomotive engines at work upon them, as in practical operation in those localities. Two professional engineers, Messrs. James Walker and J. U. Rastrick, were also engaged to inspect and report upon the capabilities of the locomotive. The result of the directors' consideration of the subject and of the reports submitted to them was their offer of a premium of £500 for the most improved locomotive engine, subject to certain stipulations and conditions, the celebrated trial of the competing engines at Rainhill, in October, 1829, and the triumph of the "Rocket," which has been so often narrated. Mr. Booth's share in that triumph demands explicit notice.

On the one hand, it has been alleged that the triumph of the "Rocket" was attributable to the use of the multitubular boiler, and that that essential feature was suggested by Mr. Booth. On the other

hand, it has been contended that "the tube system has been much overrated," and the merit of the application of that system to the "Rocket" has been denied to Mr. Booth. Leaving open the question of the merits of the multitubular system, it is, we venture to think, indisputable that its application in the "Rocket" was due to Mr. Booth. In 1830 Mr. Booth's published references, which would doubtless have been challenged at the time if they had been considered untenable, were that the "Rocket" was "built by Messrs. Robert Stephenson and Co., of Newcastle, with a boiler of new construction suggested by the writer of this account;" and again—"the directors accordingly awarded the premium to the writer of this account and the Messrs. Stephenson, to whose excellent construction of the machinery I (H. Booth) was much indebted for the favourable award of the umpires." Again, the merits of Mr. Booth in relation to the multitubular boiler were fully admitted by the Stephensons, who would not, indeed, have been among the competitors at Rainhill but for Mr. Booth's instigation, and his confidence in the powers of the multitubular system. In vol. iii. of Mr. S. Smiles's "Lives of the Engineers," published in 1862, Robert Stephenson states, pp. 495-96:—"It was not until my father was engaged in making some experiments during the progress of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, in connection with Mr. Henry Booth, the well-known secretary of that line, that any great movement in this direction was effected, and that the present multitubular boiler assumed a practicable shape. It was in conjunction with Mr. Booth that

my father constructed the 'Rocket' engine, which obtained the prize at the celebrated competition. . . We have in the multitubular boiler the only important principle of construction introduced in addition to those which my father had brought to bear at a very early stage (between 1815 and 1821) on the Killingworth Colliery Railway. In the 'Rocket' engine the power of generating steam was prodigiously increased by the multitubular system." Mr. Robert Stephenson proceeds to say that the then existing locomotives did not differ "in any essential particular" from the "Rocket"; and referring to M. Seguin, Stevens of New York, and others, for whom the invention and use of tubular boilers had been claimed, remarks that — "These claimants may all be entitled to great and independent merit, but certain it is that the perfect establishment of the success of the multitubular boiler is more immediately owing to the suggestion of Mr. Henry Booth, and to my father's practical knowledge in carrying it out." In a letter by Mr. Booth to Mr. S. Smiles, of date October 6th, 1857, which, by favour of the latter, we have before us, Mr. Booth briefly narrates the circumstances in which the "Rocket" was constructed and competed. In the last published edition (1868) of his "Lives of George and Robert Stephenson" Mr. Smiles quotes from the letter the following essential passages:—"I was in almost daily communication with Mr. Stephenson at the time, and I was not aware that he had any intention of competing for the prize till I communicated to him my scheme of a multitubular boiler. This new plan of boiler comprised the

introduction of numerous small tubes two or three inches in diameter, and less than an eighth of an inch thick, through which to carry the fire, instead of a single tube or flue 18 inches in diameter, and about half an inch thick; by which plan we not only obtain a very much larger heating surface, but the heating surface is much more effective, as there intervenes between the fire and the water only a thin sheet of copper or brass, not one-eighth of an inch thick, instead of a plate of iron of four times the substance, as well as an inferior conductor of heat. When the conditions of trial were published I communicated my multitubular plan to Mr. Stephenson, and proposed to him that we should jointly construct an engine and compete for the prize. Mr. Stephenson approved the plan, and agreed to my proposal. He settled the mode in which the fire-box and tubes were to be mutually arranged and connected, and the engine was constructed at the works of Messrs. Robert Stephenson & Co., Newcastle-on-Tyne. I am ignorant of M. Seguin's proceedings in France, but I claim to be the inventor in England, and feel warranted in stating, without reservation, that until I named my plan to Mr. Stephenson, with a view to compete for the prize at Rainhill, it had not been tried, and was not known in this country."

To those who knew Mr. Booth most intimately, and were hence acquainted with his scrupulous honour and unimpeachable integrity, the above letter will be perfectly conclusive; and all such will unhesitatingly endorse the declaration recently made to us by an intimate friend of Mr. Booth, an eminent professional man who survives him, that "Henry

Booth was, of all the men he had ever known, the least likely to arrogate to himself credit not his due, or to suffer the taint of dishonour to attach to him by his own act."

Passing from the multitubular boiler, there are other important inventions connected with railway working concerning the origination of which with Mr. Booth there has never been any question. Not one railway traveller in a thousand, it may safely be asserted, is aware of his indebtedness to Mr. Booth for the prevention of discomfort and suffering, of the jars and jolts, and pitching about, by the coupling screws and spring buffers invented and applied by Mr. Booth, nearly forty years ago, upon the Liverpool and Manchester line. It cannot be necessary to say a word as to the practical value of the coupling and buffing apparatus in preventing violent pulsations in trains, in securing steady starting and smooth running, and abating tear and wear of both road and rolling stock. To the uninitiated observer of the station porter engaged in screwing up the trains, the coupling apparatus may seem a very common-place affair. Experts, however, know that Mr. Henry Booth did a notable thing in mechanics when he contrived a mode of turning a screw which would act at once right and left, and, contrary to all former practice, would, while turning the thread apparently in one direction only, act upon the opposite poles. Mr. Booth's coupling screw has this extraordinary merit; and it is worthy of remark that, amid all our mechanical inventions and improvements, Mr. Booth's mode of coupling and bracing-up trains, as employed at the opening of the Liver-

pool and Manchester line in 1830, continues in use without alteration until this day—a use that has been extended throughout the United Kingdom, and all parts, indeed, of the civilized world. The same may be said with respect to the mode of lubricating railway-carriage axles, invented by Mr. Booth in 1830, which continues likewise to be universally employed, and without alteration, to this day. Not only the mode of effecting the lubrication, but the composition of the materials employed—a compound of Russian tallow, palm oil, soda, and water—was directed by Mr. Booth, and no alteration or change in the materials, or in the mode of applying them, has been thought necessary from that day to this. After the successful opening and working of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, Mr. Booth was impressed into the service of the new and extended project—the Grand Junction.

CHAPTER V.

Canals and railways.—The early railway Share*holders*.—Rapid increase of new railway schemes.—Wild speculation in 1825.—Successive Railway Acts.—The Liverpool and Manchester line as pioneer.—Mr. Henry Booth's services.—His retirement.

BETWEEN 1820 and 1830 the canal system of the United Kingdom culminated, and the railway system was commenced. The extended and improved internal navigations of the country—all honour to the men by whose enterprise and skill they had been effected!—had proved of great public utility, and continue, indeed, to serve important national uses until the present time; but they had become unequal to satisfy the exigencies of increased commerce, extended manufacturing operations, and the demand for the cheaper, and especially the more rapid, interchange between localities, of raw material on the one hand, and of manufactured products upon the other. Improved facilities for the transport of passengers between one point and another had scarcely up to that time been thought of. The pioneers of the railway system were men of far other and higher spirit and purpose than the motley crew of traffickers in scrip, of "bulls" and "bears," of artful dodgers running about seeking after "a good thing," buyers at dis-

count and sellers at premium. Such men as Charles Lawrence, first chairman of the Liverpool and Manchester line, Joseph Sandars, Henry Booth, and their co-labourers, were men more far-seeing, of nobler ambition, and higher enterprise than mere investors in profitable and certainly "safe" stock. They were emphatically share-*holders*. They took up their shares and assumed their heavy responsibilities at a time when there was no rush of greedy speculators clamorous for allotments, to have and to hold for a few hours, days, or weeks, until they could bag "a premium" upon the allotment letter, or the scrip issued after it. They held tenaciously to their shares, well knowing that they had a hard battle to fight, a wildly-hazardous experiment (as many thought) to make, ere their guerdon could be received.

The circumstances in which they fought the battle and made the experiment are well described in a letter, of date 19th of October, 1838, after the victory had been won, by Mr. Henry Booth to Mr. Charles Lawrence, in which he says, referring to the early supporters of the Liverpool and Manchester line—"the type and forerunner of a hundred others"—that it was "fortunate for me that from my official connection with the first great work of the kind, it was my province to give effect to the deliberations and decisions of directors, who in former days, through evil and good report, without favour from the Legislature or encouragement from the public, while the risk was evident and the gain problematical, with intelligence, perseverance, and singleness of purpose pursued their work till

success crowned their labours, and multitudes were eager to follow their example." Until Columbus had made the egg stand on end, and everybody knew the way to do it; then speculators "hooked on" to the successful enterprise, and those who hastened to be rich without labour now cast in their lot with the men of forethought, perseverance, and power, to whom we are indebted for our railway system.

It was not because the spirit of reckless speculation had died that railway projects prior to 1830 had but few supporters. The multitude were credulous enough concerning other projects, but only a few wise and enterprising men, who lived in advance of their time, believed in the possibility and benefit of a railway system. The year 1825, in which the promoters of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway made their first attempt to obtain an Act, was remarkable for the number and the wild recklessness of the speculations launched. Two hundred and seventy-six joint-stock companies were formed for the promotion of all sorts of schemes, more or less sensible, hopeless, or utterly absurd. Great wealth was expected by investors in gold, silver, tin, lead, and copper mines, in almost all parts of the world, and magnificent dividends from loans to Denmark, Mexico, and the South American Republics. Companies were formed to do all sorts of things, possible and impossible, by steam, and to provide and distribute all sorts of commodities by improved agencies. But there were few supporters of railways, and the locomotive engine was either unknown or believed in as a weird hobgoblin. Railways were

regarded by the majority with hostility or indifference, through ignorance or prejudice; others opposed them from cupidity. Only a few master-minds could apprehend or comprehend the subject, and amongst these, as is abundantly evident from his writings of the time, was Mr. Henry Booth, who manifestly accepted as a moral, economical, and commercial axiom the neat saying of Mr. Edmund Pease, of Darlington—"Let the country but make the railroads, and the railroads will make the country."

As early as 1824 an attempt was made to obtain an Act to construct a railway between Birmingham and the site of the present town of Birkenhead or its neighbourhood. The bill was lost on Standing Orders. The application was renewed in 1826, the year in which the promoters of the Liverpool and Manchester line obtained their Act; but again they failed, and yet again in 1830. So, also, a first attempt was made to obtain powers for a line from London to Birmingham in 1825; but the scheme was not yet ripe. In 1830 two railway lines between London and Birmingham were projected, the promoters of which, however, discreetly came to the conclusion that "united we *may* conquer; divided we *must* fall," and they accordingly coalesced, but did not go to Parliament. That year, 1830, memorable in railway annals from the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line, was an important starting-point in railway enterprise and development. The pioneer railway proved a triumphant commercial success—it demonstrated unequivocally the capabilities of the locomotive engine, and the practic-

ability and unquestionable utility and value of the railway system. The Act for the Grand Junction line—substantially the same as had been petitioned for in 1824—was obtained in 1833. The promoters of the London and Birmingham line applied to Parliament in the session of 1832, when they succeeded in the Commons, but failed in the Lords. They obtained their Act in the following session, 1833. The Grand Junction line, originating in 1824, was promoted mainly by the gentlemen with whom Mr. Booth was associated in connection with the Liverpool and Manchester line. In the interim he and his co-labourers struck out affluents to their line, to the right southwards to Warrington, and to the left northwards to Bolton, and afterwards to Preston, this northern extension becoming subsequently the North Union. These, the Bolton and Leigh, and the Warrington and Newton, were of course under the administration, as chief executive officer, of Mr. Henry Booth. He had also necessarily intimate relations with the Grand Junction from the commencement.

Reverting to the earlier railway projects, it is interesting to notice that up to 1828, inclusive, only 52 railway Acts, almost all, excepting the Stockton and Darlington, and the Liverpool and Manchester, and a few others, short local lines for the conveyance of minerals, had received the sanction of Parliament. In that year, 1828, a larger number of railway Acts—eleven—was passed than had ever been before adopted in any one year. Not a single canal bill was presented in that year. The road trustees, however, continued in force, and 65 road bills were

passed by Parliament. The turnpike roads, which had at that time attained a superb condition, embraced in England above 20,000 miles, and were maintained at a cost of about a million sterling per annum. There were then 80 canal companies in operation, whose works had been executed at a cost of about 30 millions sterling, and which had a revenue of about £800,000 per annum. The little one, as regards railway companies, has not literally "become a thousand," but the 52 little tramways and railways, with the Liverpool and Manchester towering head and shoulders above all the others then in existence, have become above 500 existing companies, exclusive of hundreds of others these have absorbed, and the railway capital of 1828 of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or £1,400,000, barring the Liverpool and Manchester, has now reached to above 500 millions sterling.

The great railway systems of the United Kingdom date their origin from the ten years following the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line. The Act was obtained in 1833 for the London and Birmingham, a section, as is well known, of what became the London and North-Western; in 1834 the Act was passed for the London and Southampton, now enlarged into the London and South-Western; in 1835 for the Great Western; in 1836 for the Hull and Selby, now part of the Lancashire and Yorkshire; for the Midland Counties, the Birmingham and Derby, the North Midland, the Sheffield and Rotherham, the Manchester and Leeds, and the Newcastle and Shields. In 1837 there were fourteen Acts passed for railways in England, Scot-

land, and Ireland, extending to 464 miles, involving above £8,000,000 of capital, with larger numbers of Acts granting powers to construct greater mileage, and empowering to raise higher amounts of capital in the succeeding years of the decade.

These epitomized statements cannot be considered irrelevant to the subject of our sketch. It would be easy to quote numbers of authors and competent authorities who endorse such statements as that of Mr. William Chambers in his admirable and interesting little book "About Railways," that "with the success of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway began that course of commercial enterprise . . . which has since assumed such importance." Mr. F. S. Williams, in his book, "Our Iron Roads," says at p. 29, "The success of the Liverpool and Manchester line destroyed all doubt as to the possibilities of the railway system. It was now and for ever *un fait accompli*, and it was not long before its advantages were sought in other parts of the country." Nobody can doubt that if the "Rocket" had broken down at Rainhill, and the directors, and their engineer, and their secretary, as their right hand and chief aid, had failed in working out their great problem, and had only exhibited the way "how not to do it," the results from their example would have been very different. But they both deserved and achieved success, and while feeling that it would be absurd to say of any one of the gentlemen who were associated in the achievement of such a brilliant triumph, that "alone he did it," we would deferentially recall the fact that the "Rocket"—the type and germ of the locomotive engines of the present

day—owed its victory to two causes: the multitubular boiler of Mr. Henry Booth, and its admirable construction by the Messrs. Stephenson. Mr. Booth, it should also be kept in mind, was the secretary and treasurer of the company—deputy brain, deputy purse-keeper, chief executive officer, in the discharge of the most varied, onerous, and arduous duties, to which no man, from the nature of the case, could at that time have been trained, articled, or apprenticed; in which he had to look to himself as schoolmaster for his learning, to lean upon himself as staff for support. It should be enough to say, concerning the part Mr. Booth had in the achievement of the success of the great project, that no occasion was missed, but various opportunities were *made*, by those who had the best means of knowing, and the best grounds for appreciating, the value of his services, of expressing unequivocally their sense of the debt of gratitude and respect due to him. Mr. Charles Lawrence, for many years chairman of the board, never failed, when opportunity offered, to bear testimony to "the able assistance he had always received from his friend Mr. Booth" in battling with the many and serious difficulties that beset them, especially at the beginning of their enterprise.*

Mr. Booth's relations, first with the Liverpool and Manchester line, next with the Grand Junction, and latterly with the London and North-Western, changed from time to time, but always in the direction of enlarging his powers and increasing his

* Banquet to G. C. Glyn, Esq, chairman, and Charles Lawrence, Esq., deputy-chairman, of the London and North-Western Railway, at Blackwall, June 27th, 1850.

responsibility. In July, 1846, the Grand Junction, a fusion of a number of separate companies, the Liverpool and Manchester, the London and Birmingham, and the Manchester and Birmingham Companies, became united as the great London and North-Western. Mr. Booth was then appointed joint secretary. In October, 1848, he was appointed a director, with equal deliberative privileges and increased executive powers. He finally retired from official connection with the company on the 18th of May, 1859, after about thirty-five years' wearing and wearying railway service, a longer term probably than is often served by a principal officer of any important public company, even although he may have trodden the beaten path of a predecessor, which was an impossibility in the case of Mr. Booth.

CHAPTER VI.

Testimonials presented to Mr. Booth.

ALTHOUGH there is no record of Mr. Booth's services in the Blue Books containing the minutes of evidence before the committees upon the bills in 1825 and 1826, the nature and value of these services are distinctly indicated by the testimonial afterwards, in 1837, presented to him. During the Parliamentary campaigns, and at other times also, indeed, Mr. Booth devoted himself with the greatest zeal and assiduity, working almost night and day for the promotion of the object he had so much at heart; he was in the midst of all the proceedings, directing, organizing, helping in every way in his power, and in any capacity that the exigency of the time seemed to require. The testimonial consisted of a valuable service of plate. One of the pieces, a massive silver salver, bears the following inscription:—"Presented to Henry Booth by the proprietors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, in testimony of his valuable services as honorary secretary to the general committee in the memorable proceedings before Parliament in the years 1825 and 1826, during which period he devoted himself to the arduous duties of his situation with zeal, regularity,

and perseverance, and, uniting with these qualities extensive scientific attainments, essentially contributed to promote the ultimate object of an undertaking for magnificence of design and utility of purpose pre-eminent amongst the works of modern times."

On the absorption in 1846 of the Liverpool and Manchester in the London and North-Western Company, and Mr. Booth's entrance upon his enlarged sphere of duty, a still more notable manifestation was given of the estimation in which he was held, in a public testimonial then presented to him. The value of the testimonial was greatly enhanced by its spontaneity. The *modus operandi* in connection with the presentation was in strong contrast to the proceedings in other instances of "testimonials" that have been heard of; in some cases the prospective recipient is the chief instigator of the movement, in others he is the principal subscriber to the fund. In this instance there were no public meetings, after-dinner subscriptions, application of pressure or of the screw in any form; no heavy advertising accounts, powerful appeals, importunate applications; no leakage to rapacious collectors, who in some instances consider themselves inadequately paid in retaining for their own use principal and commission. "Must" was not the overseer, but gladly "I will" the impulse under which above 400 subscribers contributed 3,000 guineas to the fund; the whole proceedings, including the presentation of the testimonial, having been conducted apparently through the Post-office, with the assistance of a goldsmith's shop-porter. Every shilling contributed reached its

destination, and was applied to the object for which it was designed, without deduction for collection expenses, from the 200 guineas of the Duke of Sutherland to the couple of guineas of the clergyman at Exeter, the guinea each from the two sisters living together at Wavertree, and the five shillings from the grateful widow at Galway. The initiatory resolution was adopted at a meeting of gentlemen interested in different railways, which was held at Liverpool on the 31st March, 1846, Charles Lawrence, Esq., in the chair. It was as follows:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that Mr. Henry Booth is eminently entitled to a public testimonial for the important services which he has rendered during a period of nearly twenty years, not only to the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, with which he has been so long and so beneficially connected, but to railways in general, which have been largely benefited by his matured experience in the management of their affairs." A committee was appointed to carry out the resolution, Mr. Hardman Earle rendering valuable and effective service as honorary treasurer. The result was a subscription of 3,000 guineas, of which 200 guineas was appropriated to the production of a handsome silver candelabrum, designed and manufactured by Messrs. Robert Jones and Sons, goldsmiths, Liverpool. The balance was forwarded to Mr. Booth on October 12, 1846, in a bank order, accompanying a highly complimentary letter from his old and attached friend and co-labourer, Mr. Charles Lawrence; to which Mr. Booth sent an appropriate and characteristic reply, expressing his grateful sentiments, his

wish that he had better earned the favour, and at the same time expressing his consciousness that lack of zeal and good intent had seldom been amongst his failings. The following is a copy of the inscription at the base of the candelabrum:—"Presented, with a purse of two thousand eight hundred guineas, by a large body of railway proprietors, to Henry Booth, Esq., treasurer and chief manager of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway for a period of twenty years, as a grateful acknowledgment of his valuable services to the railway interest in the successful adaptation to the wants of the public of a new system of internal communication, by which the early projectors of railways obtained the just reward of their enterprise, and their successors the benefit of experience, without its cost. MDCCCLVI."

In 1853 Mr. Booth received a gratifying mark of esteem and respect from his brother officers in the presentation of an elegant timepiece and a number of bronze statuettes.

On the 9th April, 1859, prior to his final retirement, the board of the London and North-Western Railway Company presented Mr. Booth with the sum of five thousand guineas in consideration of his valuable past services, and resolved:—"That the board feel it but an act of justice to avail themselves of this opportunity to express their sense of the eminent zeal, ability, and industry displayed by Mr. Booth during the long and faithful services which he has rendered to the Liverpool and Manchester, and subsequently to the London and North-Western Railway Company, during a period of thirty-three years."

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Booth's writings.—Enumeration of some of his published works.—Railway subjects.—Letter to the Irish Railway Commissioners.—Suggestions.—The gauge.—Legislative interference.—Uniformity of time.

Mr. Booth furnished abundant evidence during his lifetime of extraordinary mental activity and power, and of unwearied industry, and has left a record, albeit partial and incomplete, of his possession and exercise of these qualities in his published writings. He found time, notwithstanding the pressure of his numerous and important daily duties, to write, and to write well, upon a wide range of subjects. The mass of his important official correspondence, written but not printed, does not come within our range. Of the large number of important official documents he prepared which were printed but not published in the ordinary sense, we have only been able to obtain access to a fragmentary portion; and even of his published writings many have been long "out of print," and are now inaccessible. He was a frequent contributor to newspapers and periodicals upon political and social questions, but never took a prominent part in the strife and contests of political parties as such;

it mattered little to him in what direction or connection it might be, he was ever ready to do good suit and service if a fallacy had to be exposed, a danger to be averted, a wrong to be redressed, an improved course to be followed, or a sound principle to be expounded.

Amongst his writings, and the list is only a bibliographical fragment, were the following:— "Moral Capability," London, 1814; . . . "An Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway" (illustrations), Liverpool, 1830; "Free Trade, as it affects the People," and "A Reformed Parliament," Liverpool and London, 1833; "Letter (not published) to His Majesty's Commissioners on Railways in Ireland," in reply to a letter from the secretary to the Commissioners, 1836; "Observations on the Force of the Wind and the Resistance of the Air," a paper read at a meeting of the Liverpool Polytechnic Society, Liverpool, 1839; "The Rationale of the Currency Question; or, the Plea of the Merchant and the Shareholder for an improved System of National Banking," London, 1847; "Uniformity of Time, considered especially in reference to Railway Transit and the Operations of the Electric Telegraph," London, 1847; "The Case of the Railways considered especially with reference to Railway Accidents and the Operation of Lord Campbell's Act. By a Shareholder," London, 1852; "Master and Man: a Dialogue in which are discussed some of the important Questions affecting the social Condition of the Industrious Classes, comprising those of Population, Supply and Demand, Competition, the Poor Law, Education, the Franchise, and the Ballot,"

London, 1853; "A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Campbell on the 9th & 10th Vic., cap. 93: being an Act for compensating the Families of Persons killed by Accidents (26th August, 1846), showing the Injustice of the Measure and the Propriety of its immediate Repeal," London, 1854; "A Letter to Francis Shand, Esq., Mayor of Liverpool, on the Approaches to St. George's Hall," Liverpool, 1857; "Taxation, Direct and Indirect, in Reply to the Report of the Financial Reform Association," London, 1860; "The Struggle for Existence: a Lecture, addressed to the Working Classes, &c.," London and Liverpool, 1861; "Considerations on the Licensing Question, respectfully addressed to his Brother Magistrates of the Borough of Liverpool," Liverpool, 1862; "The Question of Comparative Punishments considered in reference to Offences against the Person as compared with Offences against the Pocket, with some Observations on Prison Discipline, &c., addressed to his Brother Magistrates," Liverpool, 1863. Mr. Booth wrote upon other subjects in addition to those indicated by the above imperfect list, and amongst others a clever brochure upon "Atlantic Steam Navigation." To convey a correct idea of the logical acumen, the lucidity of language, the argumentative power, and, in a word, the complete mastery of his subject which Mr. Booth displayed in the treatment of these very varied topics would necessitate a transcript of the entire matter of his numerous "small books on great subjects." We can only refer very briefly to a few of them, and first to those relating to railway legislation and administration.

Mr. Booth was the organ of his Board in an important correspondence with the Royal Commissioners on Railways in Ireland. In a letter (not published) written by Mr. Booth in 1836 in reply to a communication from the Commissioners, he discusses, with his characteristic perspicacity and vigour, it may almost be said with prescience, the fundamental principles and considerations involved in the development of the railway system. Well it would have been for the railway interest and, it may be added, for the community at large, if the views entertained and propounded by Mr. Booth thus early in the railway era had been shared and acted upon by railway promoters and the Legislature. As affecting Ireland, which was at that time at the commencement of the construction of its railway system, Mr. Booth wisely writes to the Commissioners:—

"In devising a system of railways for a new country it will be very important to attend to unity of design and plan, with a view, hereafter, to unity of management and control. This is infinitely more essential in railways than in high-roads or canals. . . . The same principle must be observed in the working of the line as in the first arrangement. The control and management must be single and absolute; private individuals, subsidiary companies, tributary branches, if they be allowed to bring their engines and carriages on the main line at all, must do so subject to the rules and regulations of the higher power. This principle of action should be borne in mind on the first setting out of a new railway.

"But perhaps, the most important point to which

the consideration of the Commissioners will immediately be turned, is the economical application of the funds placed at their disposal, so that the greatest possible benefit may be derived from a certain stipulated expenditure; and the most obvious and simple rule for the attainment of this end seems to be, to take care not to construct *two* main lines of railway where *one* will suffice. So self-evident, indeed, and so much of the nature of a truism, is this proposition, that I should not have ventured to allude to it, if the very reverse of this rule did not seem to prevail on this side the Channel; for in England, no sooner is a certain district of country provided with a railway, than rival lines are projected before the first line is in operation, and before it has been at all proved,—not that the first line is not sufficient, but that it is not much more than sufficient for the exigencies of the country through which it passes. With the most chivalrous disregard of consequences, and the most disinterested neglect of all sober and rational calculation, the projectors of railways, in this country, are content to discuss the merits of sections and gradients; and forgetting that no line can be a good one, where no railway is required, to become responsible for the expenditure of millions of money on the suggestion of an attorney or the recommendation of an engineer. . . . . The fever and excitement on this subject pervade all parts of the country; and as yet we have no evidence of any one controlling mind, feeling the importance of taking a broad view of the whole question, and of estimating beforehand what effect these innumerable crude and disjointed, but in

the aggregate stupendous, projects, will produce on the state of trade, on the stability of credit, and consequently on the general prosperity and well-being of the nation. What course ministers will take in these extraordinary circumstances, whether they will leave the nation to its madness, or exercise a timely control to prevent or to limit this threatened waste of the national resources, a little time will show. In Ireland the position of things is different; but even there, the contemplation of what is passing in England may not be without its lesson; for in all countries, and under all circumstances, it is an object worthy of a statesman to prevent the reckless waste of the national means, and to give a right direction to the public expenditure."

Thus, thirty-three years ago, did Mr. Henry Booth, —a man intimately connected with the railway system from its inception,—a man deeply interested in the subject,—the man, at that time probably, of the most extensive experience of actual railway-work living, —record his protest against the profligate waste of millions of money that had then been expended, and many millions more that have been squandered since, upon needless and unprofitable main lines, extensions, and branches.

Mr. Booth took an active part in the "Battle of the Gauges," fighting on the side of the narrow gauge, but not from bigoted attachment to 4 ft. 8½ in. as absolutely, including the half-inch, the best, but because the extent to which it had already been laid, and its advantages in other respects over the 7 ft. gauge, rendered it expedient that that gauge should be adopted. Abstractly, Mr. Booth preferred a gauge

about 6 inches wider than the ordinary gauge; such width he recommended in his letter to the Commissioners, in 1836, as the gauge that should be adopted for the Irish railways, and such was the width, excepting the odd half-inch, afterwards fixed by the Act of 1846 as the national gauge for Ireland.

The additional 6 inches would, he believed, "afford ample means of improving the arrangement and proportions of the machinery, as well as of giving increased steadiness, and the capability of increased velocity to the engine and carriages." In the memorable contest between the respective advocates of the broad and narrow gauges, Mr. Booth was clear and decided as to the indispensable necessity of a uniform gauge for Great Britain, in which, as far as possible, there should be connection and continuous working between one line or system and another in all directions. In some of his writings of the time he exposed ably the folly, loss, inconvenience, costliness, and delay inevitably caused by the transshipment, whether of coals, crockery, or other matters or things, from the waggons of the one gauge to those of the other.

The amalgamation of the great companies which formed the London and North-Western, Mr. Booth's official connection with that company, the extension of the railway system in all directions, and the close connection thus established among places formerly at long distances from each other in point of *time*, forced upon Mr. Booth's attention an important question of special concernment to railway companies and to the community at large. Soon after the consolidation of the London and North-Western,

Mr. Booth, ever prompt and persevering, commenced an attack upon the inconvenient anomaly, the positive annoyance, and palpable absurdity of "a thousand and one" places in the United Kingdom, having each a time of its own, and each different from all the others. Mr. Booth's clever brochure —a letter to the Right Hon. Edward Strutt, M.P., chairman of the Railway Commissioners, upon "Uniformity of Time," considered especially in reference to railway transit and the operations of the electric telegraph, was one of the most sprightly of his productions, and tempts strongly to quotation. The inconvenience and absurdity inseparable from recognition of "local time;" the utter impossibility of conducting railway traffic, according either to "Bradshaw," or to a Roskell's best chronometer, with any approach to regularity or precision, are cleverly displayed. The demand of the appeal is legal recognition and acknowledgment of only *one time* throughout the kingdom. Inasmuch as some of Mr. Booth's pictures and descriptions are interesting contributions to history, we venture to transcribe them. Speaking of things as they were, he gives this description, when the clock strikes, say twelve, either noon or night:—

"The parish clocks in some half a dozen hamlets or fishing-towns in the extreme east, in quick succession, commence the long and dissonant peal; Norwich and Yarmouth, Harwich and Ramsgate, with a hundred clocks and chimes ring vigorously; Canterbury, Colchester, and Cambridge prolong the *feu de joie;* with a thousand intermediate towns and villages, each with its market-clock or market-bell,

proclaiming *its own time;* each in succession, but all without intermission, multitudinous in voice and key—major and minor, tenor and counter-tenor, treble, and something more, ringing and mingling their notes unmusical. Westward the noise moves on till it gains the suburbs of the huge metropolis; Poplar and Limehouse, Stepney and Bethnal Green, each with its clock and bells, with iron tongues and clappers, still in succession, uninterruptedly, unintermittingly, jar gratingly; while, as the moving din reaches St. Martin's-le-Grand, the great bell of St. Paul's tolls with mourning voice in grave rebuke of the passing clamour. And still the din proceeds; still in its westward course—Brentford and Windsor, Reading and Oxford, Southampton and Salisbury, onward for a mortal hour, 'by Shrewsbury clock;' while every city, town, or township, hamlet, or 'extra-parochial place,' as the incessant roar sweeps over its head, marking its particular *time*, calls out —'That's my thunder!'"

To the generation of to-day, accustomed to "Greenwich time," from John O'Groat's House to the Land's End, it seems almost incredible that little more than twenty years ago the following ludicrous scene so racily depicted by Mr. Booth might have been an actual occurrence. He entreats the Post-office authorities, or the Legislature, to exercise commiseration towards their agents in the provinces, on whom devolves the task of adjusting local to London time:—

"Imagine the anxiety of the post-mistress at the village of B——, in the far west, when she receives a new scheme of departures of the mail from the

county town, twenty-three miles east by north of her own village—the new mail to start from the said county town at 11h. 44m. a.m., London time—speed, including stoppages, 9 miles an hour—the problem to be solved being, at what hour, local time, the proposed mail so starting from the county town will arrive at the said village of B——.

"The post-mistress, on receipt of the order, hastens to the schoolmaster of the place, and, having explained her dilemma, 'Madam,' he replies, with the gravity becoming one consulted in a difficulty, 'the question you have proposed to me—at what time will the mail arrive at the Post-office at B——, involves one of our most abstruse problems in mathematics. It were a simple matter, if the solution depended alone on the difference of longitude east or west of Greenwich; but the obliquity of the earth's axis, and more especially the elliptic figure of the earth's orbit,—these disturbing causes, Madam, you are aware (the lady was not at all aware) produce no little complexity in the computation by which we would arrive at the desired solution. Not six days in the year do the sun and clock keep even and equable time: my calculation, therefore, will be correct for the 21st of the present month, when the new mail starts, but for no other day in this year of our Lord; but the differences being small, as the earth moves through the vast ellipse, you will easily make those allowances which the season requires. I will immediately consult my *Ephemeris*, and in three days I trust I shall be able to tell you, within a few seconds, at what time, on the 21st instant, the mail *ought*, my dear madam—*ought*, I say emphatically—to arrive at the village of B——."

"Having thus oracularly delivered himself, the learned man retires to his study to consult his Ephemeris, and prosecute his three days' labour; and the post-mistress returns to her duties more fully impressed than before with the dignity of her office as post-mistress of the place, thankful that she had a friend in need, and quite convinced that the venerable sage with whom she had just conferred was the lineal descendant of him of whom the poet said:—

'And still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew.'"

Mr. Booth gives equally graphic illustrations of the absurdities involved by the "local time," or the regulation of time by longitude or by the sun's course as applied to railway traffic. As a remedy for the anomaly and inconvenience, he asks that public clocks and pocket timepieces throughout the kingdom should be regulated to one common time. That "at one and the same moment, whether in London or Edinburgh, at Canterbury or Cardiff, the labourer may return to his toil or to his hour of rest, the man of business keep his appointment, and the traveller regulate his movements with the confidence of one who has no longer the fear of the 'longitude' before his eyes. There is sublimity in the idea of a whole nation stirred by one impulse; in every arrangement one common signal regulating the movements of a mighty people!"

In this important matter Mr. Booth attained the object of his desire—the evil was exterminated, and he had the satisfaction that Parliament did not as he conjured it not to do, "wait the miserable alternative, the euthanasia of a worn-out abuse!"

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Booth's writings.—Railway subjects continued.—Compensation claims.—Lord Campbell's Act.—Letter to Lord Campbell.—Opposition to the Act.—Objectionable passenger risks.

"It is time it should be declared emphatically that the great sufferers by the establishment of railways are the railway companies. To the public they have been very nearly unmixed gain."—*Henry Booth in "Case of the Railways Considered."*

"The promoters of railways . . . . have done the State good service and have been abused for their pains."—*Henry Booth in "Uniformity of Time."*

THE qualities of wisdom and justice cannot be said to shine resplendent in railway legislation. Promoters and speculators have doubtless been chargeable with many faults and follies, for which they themselves, or those who have come after them, have had to suffer; but the Legislature has been far from blameless in the part it has taken in the development of the railway system. In conjunction with landowners, Parliament, at the commencement of the railway enterprise, interposed the most formidable obstacles to the construction of lines; and it is in despite, not by the help, of these powers that railway communication has been established, and that the community enjoys the great and manifold advantages which that important social revolution

has brought in its train. Parliament has pursued a course which has enabled landowners to practise the most unjustifiable extortion towards the promoters of railways. It has given them an effective veto upon projects, and has enabled them to command prices for their opposition, ranging from ten thousand to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Such sums have actually been exacted from companies by rapacious landowners as "hush money," and irrespectively of the value of the strips of marsh or meadow land required for the lines. By its vacillating and blundering legislation Parliament has mulcted companies in enormous costs—which must eventually fall upon the public—under the head of "Parliamentary expenses." The costs, for instance, of the Brighton Company in obtaining their Act were £3,000 per mile; of the Great Western, £1,000; and of the London and Birmingham, and the South Western, £650 per mile each. The words of Robert Stephenson, in one of his addresses to the Institution of Civil Engineers, are too true—"that Parliament has never, on any occasion, considered improvement as an element in a railway, but has always been ready to tax the railway company on account of possible depreciation." It has not been even enough to make it so costly and difficult for companies to obtain their original Acts; the erratic procedure of Parliamentary committees has afforded no adequate security to railway companies, has given no indication either of the policy that they ought to pursue, or that the Legislature itself has been likely to pursue in the future. One committee has upheld one principle, and another committee has affirmed the

opposite. Companies have, very much in consequence of this haphazard, vacillating, and uncertain mode of action on the part of the Legislature, found it necessary to come to Parliament, year after year, for additional Acts, often procured at a heavy cost. In this way the London and North-Western is now encumbered with above 200 Acts of Parliament, passed at the cost of the Company.

Railway companies *in esse* are not regarded with greater favour or indulgence by the Legislature than companies *in posse*. Stringent laws for the regulation of railways, with heavy penalties for neglect or violation, are passed by Parliament with alacrity, and without scruple on account of the cost, inconvenience, or disadvantage such regulations may involve, apparently without consideration, certainly with very little debate, as to their practicability. The public and the press are scarcely more lenient, or less exigent, than the Legislature, towards the railway companies. If, for instance, a company, such as the Brighton, which had to pay £3,000 per mile in Parliamentary expenses to obtain their Act, proposes to "revise their fares," with the natural and reasonable intention of obtaining a moderate dividend upon the £3,000, as well as upon the capital expended in actual construction, a long and loud, and all but universal howl of execration is raised against them. If, on the other hand, damages to person or property are claimed *from*, not *by*, a railway company, there are no such demonstrations; and, to say the least, the judge upon the bench and the jury in the box are ever ready to incline a favourable ear to the plaint, and as regards the liability

of the company, if they do not set down aught in malice, they certainly nothing extenuate. That companies are hardly dealt with is abundantly manifest in the claims made against them, and in the judgments pronounced thereon.

The grievances of which railway companies have cause to complain; the injustice inflicted upon them, it may be said, in relation to compensation for accidents, fall, as regards passenger traffic, under two heads—damage and death. Compensation for accidents in which personal injury is sustained is recoverable by one process; an Act, the 9th & 10th Victoria, cap. 93, being an Act for compensating the families of persons killed by accidents, commonly called Lord Campbell's Act, provides special means for empowering juries to give verdicts compelling railway companies to pay sums of money to the representatives of persons killed by railway accidents.

Some of the cases of compensation would be amusing to all parties—except the injured railway company—but for the conspiracy and imposture on the one side and the flagrant injustice sustained on the other. An eminent medical man of extensive experience properly denounces as a scandal that "medical men should forget what is due to themselves and the public, and should become advocates instead of witnesses." He writes thus:

"I have never yet seen a case of injury, the result of a collision on a railway, where the symptoms have been subjective only, in which the favourable verdict of a jury, and the payment of the damages awarded, have not been followed, sooner or later

(generally very rapidly), by complete restoration to health and strength."

It is in accordance with his experience that railway companies are made the victims of harpies by whom "actions are touted for and got up on speculation, for the mere purpose of obtaining costs—actions in which the plaintiffs play a very insignificant part, and obtain a very small share of the plunder—actions which every honourable member of the [medical] profession must feel it his duty to discourage by every means in his power."

It may be asked whether it ever occurs in any other department of jurisprudence that such outrageous claims are preferred and sustained as those which relate to railway liabilities? In one case, decided some time since, a young man received £1,500 damages for injury received in a railway accident. The plaintiff's attorney was able to put a presentable witness into the box to testify that "as four of the special senses were impaired, or lost, there must be disease at the base of the brain resulting from the accident; and that he might die in less than two years." The lost senses were easily found again—after receipt of the £1,500—and in a little while this young man was seen chasing, rather wildly, a train in motion, more than willing, it may be supposed, to accept another accident—at the same price. In another instance a commercial traveller who had been in an accident, had the professional dictum pronounced upon him "that it was altogether impossible that he could resume his occupation as a commercial traveller in less than two years." This mauled and battered sufferer was also

awarded £1,500 damages, and resumed his ordinary vocation, and was "on the road" again, just three weeks after the sympathetic jury delivered their verdict, and, in so far as is known, has been well and hearty ever since. In a still more recent case £1,500—apparently a favourite sum with generous juries—have been awarded to a professor of dancing, who sustained injury, as was alleged, not from a railway collision, or other casualty that could by any strained interpretation be pronounced a "railway accident," but by tripping from a hole in the carpet of a station waiting-room. How thankful she should be that it was not upon a piece of orange-peel outside the station,—if inside she would probably have been able to recover damages from the company! The amounts that railway companies have been called upon to pay for "railway spine" injuries are very remarkable. These peculiar, deeply-seated, and mysterious affections, manifest themselves in an alarming manner, at more or less distant intervals *before* trial, but are cured in a marvellous manner by the legal settlement of the case. Claimants against companies for "railway spine," or other injury sustained by accidents, need not hurry themselves in pressing their claim. Judge and jury are ready, in an exceptional way, to extend their kind sympathy to sufferers, and to allow time for the development of the injury. A recent case against the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company is a curious illustration of the tenacity of the hair when the sword of Damocles hangs over a railway company. The plaintiff sustained slight injury in a collision on the company's line, but had

no idea of making any claim for damages. Years elapsed, and in their course ailments came upon him, as they will come upon most men; still he had no thought of claiming damages from the company. He had an astute medical adviser, however, who expressed the opinion that in the long-past railway accident he had had a "narrow escape." Damages were demanded from the company, and resisted. In the course of the proceedings a considerable time elapsed, and pains—"flying pains"—which are not unusual in cases of "railway spine" affections—troubled the plaintiff, as was alleged. At the trial, it was stated positively in evidence, that it was "contrary to all possibility that the pains of the plaintiff could have anything to do with the accident." The eminent medical witness stated that he had abundance of support from first-rate professional men. But science must succumb in some matters to sentiment. Feeling has probably more to do with the settlement of these cases than weight of evidence or sense of justice, and it might seem as if juries went into the box determined to be "neither partial nor impartial," but to—find for the plaintiff. In this case, their verdict, which was doubtless satisfactory to themselves, the plaintiff, and the public, was for £4,000 damages. The full court, however, decided that a new trial must take place unless the plaintiff consented to reduce the verdict to half that amount.

The voice of reason is too frequently unheeded, and in such cases railways are mulcted in heavy damages, through the operation of an amiable sort of self-deception, and the temptations of a spurious

generosity. The plaintiff is one, the defendants are many and united, and the natural bent of sympathy is towards the weak and poor, as against those supposed to be strong and wealthy. The sufferer from "flying pains," caused by "railway spine" disorder, may be only a merchant or manufacturer, a tradesman or shopkeeper, but the shareholders in the railway company are all considered *ipso facto* "capitalists," and in their united capacity a "wealthy corporation."

The following admirable passage upon this point occurs in a letter written by the late Mr. Henry Booth, to the late Lord Chief Justice on the subject of Lord Campbell's Act, 9 & 10 Vict., cap. 93:—

"There are two fallacies to which your lordship has lent the sanction of a high name. The first is that the extent of a company's funds and resources is practically unlimited; that the requirements of ethical justice, therefore, need not be very strictly observed; that juries may indulge in the pleasurable emotion of punishing a public company, by the same verdict which proclaims their generous sympathy for the suffering party, accomplished always at another's cost. It would seem to be altogether forgotten that a company is composed of individuals, generally dependent, in great measure, on their daily exertions for support, and, as regards their railway property, reaping a very poor return on their investment. The abstract idea of justice is not very readily comprehended by juries who decide the issues we are discussing, and your lordship has taken little pains to explain to them that, morally, they are

guilty of as grievous a wrong in being parties to an unjust verdict against a company of shareholders as against a single individual."

It has not unfrequently happened in cases of railway damages that the state of things, as regards the comparative means of the parties, should be reversed. The plaintiff may be a millionnaire, and the richer he is and the less he needs, the more he is likely to get; whereas it would be easy to show, taking railway shareholders in detail, that a large number of them are persons of very narrow means, helpless widows and spinsters, old men disabled from the battle of life, orphans, retired clergymen, military and naval officers, and others whose dividends are almost all their living. In 1858 when Mr. Henry Booth made a strenuous effort to obtain an Act to limit the liability of railway companies in respect of injuries to passengers, he stated officially, that, in the London and North-Western Company alone, 955 shareholders had applied for certificates to enable them to get back their small modicum of income-tax. How many more shareholders not liable paid the tax rather than confess the smallness of their income, is not known. These harshly treated defendants invested in railways in the hope of a certain return upon their small capital, and never dreamt in doing so that, in case of accidents, so sedulously guarded against, they would be liable for damages in an indefinite amount, or become the victims, with the sanction of law, of harpy accident agents, unscrupulous doctors, and dupe "subjects," or of juries with soft hearts and softer heads.

The prominence given in the newspapers to rail-

way casualties and the ardour and persistency with which they are discussed as compared with the attention bestowed by journalists upon far more numerous fatalities from other causes, are out of all proportion to their number and nature.*

The thousand persons mysteriously lost in London every year; the thousand colliers who die unnatural deaths in our mines; the five hundred fishermen and mariners drowned upon our coasts; the two hundred men, women, and children trampled to death every year in the streets of London, pass away

* When the Rev. Mr. Speke disappeared, some time since so mysteriously, a statement appeared in the public papers purporting to be taken from police returns, giving the number of persons missing in London for each of twenty years. The details implied that "2,000 persons are lost in London every year, and only half of them found again, leaving annually 1,000 disappearances never accounted for." Above 1,000 lives are lost annually in the mines of the United Kingdom; 500 lives are lost every year upon the coast of the British isles by ship and boat wrecks, this being only a small fraction of the whole number of lives lost annually by shipwrecks; above 200 lives are lost annually upon the streets of London; recently the lives lost have exceeded the rate of one per day for certain periods. Against these calamities about 30 of the 300 millions of passengers who travel annually upon all the railways in the United Kingdom are killed from accidents beyond their own control. That is, the railway passengers thus meeting with fatal accidents are as one to thirty-three of the missing people in London never accounted for; as one to thirty-three of the persons killed in mines; as one to sixteen of the sailors and boatmen wrecked upon our coasts; and as one to six of the men, women, and children trampled to death or run over every year in the streets of London. Of course, none of the contributors to this hecatomb of victims to civilization should be sacrificed if their deaths are preventable; but why should the railway interest be made to such a large extent the scapegoat, and attract so much more than its share of lamentation and outcry?

almost without note or comment; but the thirty persons who meet with accidental deaths on railways furnish materials and texts for interminable reports and diatribes in the newspapers, in which the minutest details are iterated and reiterated to weariness, and the vocabulary of adjectives almost exhausted of the superlatives applicable to horror, as applied to the result, and to culpability as referring to the cause. Notwithstanding that it is the manifest interest of railway boards and managers, apart altogether from considerations of humanity and from moral sense, to employ the most steady and efficient men, to perfect their system and organization, with a view to the prevention of accidents, and to regularity and safety, an accident, that nobody could have seen or prevented, brings the censor promptly to the front. The oracle straightway descants upon the unscrupulous heedlessness and the contemptible incapacity of railway officials, and declares that the accident may be traced to the common cause, mismanagement, the want of instructions—the want of something or other that the commonest prudence or care would have supplied. Sins of omission or of commission in any other party may be pardoned or condoned, but if a railway company is the defaulter the universal instigation is—"Cry aloud and spare not." Such seems to have been the spirit in which Lord Campbell's Act was conceived. Mr. Henry Booth was deeply impressed with a sense of the injustice and the exceptional character of its provisions, and made strenuous and persevering efforts to obtain a repeal or modification of the statute. The oppressive effects of

the measure have been abundantly proved in its application and working. Companies have been cast in heavy damages for accidents which have been to themselves great calamities and causes of heavy loss; accidents which it has been their direct interest, as well as their duty, to prevent by all the cost and care they could apply. Mr. Henry Booth was of a nature and temperament that would not permit him to live in close contact with a felt grievance and injustice without strenuous and persistent protest and remonstrance against it, and he took resolute action in this matter. In 1852 he made a vigorous statement of the case to railway shareholders. In 1854 he wrote and published a direct and trenchant appeal to Lord Campbell, and, subsequently, at intervals, but especially in 1858, he appealed in strong terms to railway boards and officials, by circulars and otherwise, to support "A Bill to limit the Liability of Railway Companies in certain Cases in respect of Injuries to Passengers by Railway." Mr. Booth's "Reasons for the Bill" are well worth reproduction but are too voluminous to be given *in extenso*. The important document is well worth the renewed consideration of the boards, who would do well to take up Mr. Booth's unfinished work—unfinished, not from any *lâche* or lack of energy on his part, but because of the supineness of those who should have aided and sustained him in his efforts.

Mr. Booth properly condemned Lord Campbell's Act on the ground that the amount that might be claimed under it from companies bears no proportion to the amount of consideration received in pas-

senger fares, nor to the severity or fatal issue of any injury, but to the contingency of the large or small pecuniary value of the life to expectant relatives. He objected to the injustice of companies being required to accept heavy, unknown, because undeclared, risks, without consideration-money being paid; and to the palpable absurdity of their being held liable, in the event of a fatal casualty, against which it was impossible for them to provide, with all their care, perfect immunity, to pay £50 on account of one passenger, and £5,000 on account of another, each passenger having paid precisely the same fare. He urged, with propriety, that in cases of the life being considered of high pecuniary value, it was in accordance with reason and mercantile usage that those interested should insure the life. Mr. Booth also condemned the Act on the ground that it was passed subsequently to the dates when a large proportion of the companies to be bound by its provisions had obtained their Parliamentary powers, and, hence, carried, in addition to its inherent and positive injustice, the unfairness of *ex post facto* legislation.

Mr. Booth's pamphlets upon this important question of railway concernment are masterly productions, and quite unanswerable in their arguments. It is difficult to quote from them so as to convey an adequate idea of their logical power and completeness, or of the lucidity and signal ability with which the subject is discussed by the writer. A few short passages must suffice.

Adverting to the *animus* of public critics and censors in discussing railway affairs, and with special reference to the expressions of a writer in the *Edin-*

burgh Review, who expresses satisfaction that in courts of law railway companies are "fortunately" held "liable for latent defects" in rolling stock or permanent way, Mr. Booth puts the case:—"The axle of a carriage breaks, and, in consequence, the train is thrown off the rails, and serious injury is sustained by the property of the company, and in the persons of several passengers. On investigation it appears that the fractured axle had been obtained from a manufacturer of high repute, and that price had not been spared to obtain the best quality. The iron was sound externally, but there was a defect in the interior of the axle which was the cause of the fracture. The company had adopted all reasonable and business-like precaution to insure the strength and soundness of their carriages and consequent safety of their passengers." * Mr. Booth naturally expressed curiosity as to the unexplained considerations upon which the reviewer regarded the company as justly—no, "fortunately,"—liable.

The following is a good example of the *argumentum ad hominem*, and an exhibition of the injustice of Lord Campbell's Act, as also a specimen of the dry humour of which Mr. Booth possessed a rich vein:—

"Let us take Lord Campbell himself in illustration of his own law. It is fair, in argument, to suppose a case, which we devoutly trust will never be realised! We may imagine, therefore, that his lordship, on a tour to the Lake District, entrusts his person to the safe keeping of the Kendal and Windermere Railway. Owing to some failure of

* Case of the Railways, p. 15.

materials, or some unaccountable neglect of a pointsman or platelayer, the carriage in which his lordship is seated in solitary state, is thrown off the line and impelled over a picturesque ravine! and in a moment the judicature of the country loses an admirable Lord Chief Justice, and literature all hope of future 'Lives of the Chancellors.'

"But woe to the Kendal and Windermere Company and its unfortunate shareholders if the new law shall take its course! With the salary of a Lord Chief Justice of England, enjoyed and expected to be enjoyed by his family for many years—to be consistent in carrying out the principle of this law—the damages cannot be laid at less than ten or fifteen thousand pounds. And, if the action succeed, the unfortunate company is plunged into irremediable ruin. Literally five years' dividend absorbed by an action for damages.

"On one side of the account the hapless proprietors of the Kendal and Windermere Railway, men who had invested the savings of their industry, or, perhaps, their small inheritance—the widow or the orphan who had ventured their limited share of this world's goods in this particular undertaking—suddenly deprived of their means of subsistence for several years to come!

"On the other side of the account, the devisees, or representatives, of the Lord Chief Justice obtaining by process of an unjust law a lien or mortgage on this important concern to the extent of £15,000, it having been satisfactorily proved that the said Lord Chief Justice had fulfilled his part of an assumed contract by paying seven shillings and sixpence

for his fare, and perhaps eighteenpence for extra luggage.

"In the conveyance of merchandise certain regulations have been made and are well understood, and various articles are confessedly dangerous and objectionable in a high degree, requiring to be declared, and the risk provided for by isolation or extraordinary precautions, and some articles are denounced as 'prohibited' altogether. Amongst such exceptionable articles may be enumerated vitriol, gunpowder, aquafortis, lucifer matches, &c.

"It will be quite necessary to adopt some analogous classification amongst travellers by railway. In the profession of the law there can be no objection to a barrister who has not been above ten years on circuit. If in the course of time he should become Q.C. he necessarily at the same time becomes to railway managers an object of anxiety and distrust, and, to some extent, 'an objectionable article,' requiring to be labelled, so as to indicate extra risk, 'with care,' or 'this side up.' A few steps higher in the profession, and the difficulty and danger rapidly increase. Solicitors-General or Chief Barons are hardly to be encountered at any price. They must rank with 'aquafortis' or 'gunpowder.' So with the clerical profession. The great portion of the working clergy will be welcome at the booking-office and on the platform. What they will pay as their respective fares will probably be very nearly a due consideration for the service rendered and the risk run. A dean or rector is an object of much more serious solicitude, and should be treated with the most *distant* respect. Bishops 'appointed prior

to 1st January, 1848,' are absolutely 'dangerous,' and must rank in the same category with 'lucifer matches;' and as for my lords of Canterbury and York, or 'C. J. London,' they must be regarded as altogether 'prohibited articles.'"*

Mr. Booth makes effective use of the Carriers' Act of 1830 as just in principle, and applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to railway passenger traffic. The Act referred to affords protection to mail contractors, stage-coach proprietors, and other common carriers, against claims for extra risks incurred without consideration money being paid. It is an Act not to extend liability to an indefinite number of thousands of pounds, without declaration of value, "real" or "official," as is done by Lord Campbell's Act; but specially to limit liability to ten pounds, for failure in the safe conveyance of "articles of great value, in small compass," such as "gold or silver, precious stones, jewellery, watches, clocks, trinkets, &c.," unless the value has been declared, and such adequate consideration money paid as may be mutually agreed upon. Mr. Booth holds the description "articles of great value in small compass" to apply to lawyers making £10,000 a-year, to Home Secretaries and the Lord Chief Justice, and insists that if the railway companies are held bound to carry them, the "nature and value of the article" should be "declared," and that a "fair and equitable consideration" should be paid to the company for their extra risk. Common sense, in Mr. Booth's view, suggests, as a matter of equity, and without disre-

* Case of the Railways considered, pp. 31—33.

spect, that men might be dealt with as horses are in this matter. Railway companies hold themselves liable to the extent of £40 for the safe carriage and delivery of a horse. But horses have sometimes "fancy" prices, and a company may be entrusted with an animal that may be among horses as an archbishop is among men, that the owner may value at £400, or even £1,400, instead of £40. In that case a special contract is made, and an increased price is paid for the extra risk. Why not treat bipeds in the same manner? It is very absurd that such an anomaly should be presented by any law as is possible under Lord Campbell's Act. Suppose that three men should each pay three half-crowns, or any other sum, to be carried a certain distance in the same class of carriage and to the same destination. A miscreant blocks the rails, or, from some other cause, the train is thrown off the line, and all the three travellers are killed. One has no friends to prove that the life of the deceased was of pecuniary value to them specially; the second, a millionnaire, has his "waiting" friends, who regard his demise with resignation, and for neither of these is there any claim made; but the third leaves expectant dependents, who claim and receive as damages, say £10,000!

Many railway bills have been passed since Mr. Booth attempted to incite the general railway interest to make a strenuous and combined effort to obtain relief from the operations of this unjust Act; many railway battles have been fought in Parliament since then, at a cost of very many thousands of pounds. This subject suggests a Parliamentary

battle for a future session, in which all the railway companies, great and small, would have a common interest, and be on *one* side, in which each company would have an indisputable *locus standi*. To this formidable array of promoters, who must prove invincible if they take the matter earnestly in hand, we commend the closing words of Mr. Henry Booth in his letter to Lord Campbell :—

"I have suffered, in common with thousands, a grave injustice at your Lordship's hands, and have sought in vain for reparation. I impugn the Legislature for having too implicitly relied on your Lordship's high position. . . . I entreat your Lordship—I call upon the Legislature, to repeal an Act which was the rude offspring of popular excitement; which marvellously confounds right and wrong ; which is a blot on your Lordship's fair fame, is a reflection on the Government, and a reproach to the Statute Book."*

* Since Mr. Booth wrote these words, many costly illustrations have been given of the "grave injustice" of which he complained, and if his work had been taken up energetically in this matter at the time he engaged in it, such an outrageous illustration of injustice and absolute absurdity would never have been reached as an award by a jury of £1,500 to a professor of dancing, because of injuries sustained from a stumble or fall in a station waiting-room. This "Judgment" has evoked from the Right Hon. the President of the Board of Trade, in his place in Parliament, the declaration that some of the decisions in railway compensation cases are "monstrous," and has led to his cordial acceptance of the notice of an hon. member for a select committee to sit in next session to take evidence, inquire into, deliberate, and report to Parliament upon the whole matter, including the working of Lord Campbell's Act. We would not have had "leading journals" declaiming upon the present "absurd and unjust system of railway compensations," nor such a remarkable contrast in

matter and spirit as is presented in the following extracts from the same paper. The first is quoted by Mr. Henry Booth in his "Case of the Railways considered," p. 5 :—

"Accidents are now thronging in upon us so oppressively, as to render special notice impossible. They are becoming like murders in Ireland, the circumstances of which are confounded by frequency. In all will be traced the common cause, mismanagement, the want of instructions, the want of something or other that the commonest prudence and care would have supplied!"—*Examiner*, September 20th, 1851.

"But even railway companies have their rights; and we consider the popular notion that you should at all times try to get as much money out of a railway company, by way of compensation, as you possibly can, to have led to many cases of absurd injustice. For the juries are also infected with this belief, and give verdicts of damages against railway companies which they would not return against any other public body. . . . When some elderly gentleman's widow robs the company by getting preposterous damages because her husband was fool enough to tumble out of a carriage, it is collecting from the mass to give to the individual. The 'bold outlaw,' of whom Wordsworth sang, adopted the opposite principle of stealing from the few rich and giving to the many poor. We do not see that there is much more morality in the one case than in the other, but Rob Roy's rude efforts at practical socialism had a certain poetic picturesqueness about them which these raids against the railway companies lack."—*Examiner*, July 3rd, 1869.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Booth's writings as a man and as a magistrate.—Free trade as it affects the people.—Rationale of the currency question. —Taxation, direct and indirect.

Authorship is, according to the spirit in which it is pursued, an infamy, a pastime, a day-labour, a handicraft, an art, a science, a virtue.—*Schlegel.*

In Mr. Henry Booth's case, authorship was a pastime that dignified his life, an art in which he was highly accomplished, a virtue that reflected upon him the highest honour. How he contrived to get through so much work can only be accounted for on the belief that he was a man of remarkable mental energy, and of untiring industry, who,

"Scorn'd delights and lived laborious days."

Although "the half hath not been told" of his public services as a railway-man, we must now leave that part of the subject.

It is narrated of a newly-elected civic dignitary of a Scottish burgh that his assistance was implored on a certain occasion by a worthy, but sorely distressed woman, who was driving a wilful and "camstrairy" cow, in the homely entreaty, vociferously and rapidly uttered,—"Man, wull'ee stop the coo?" The outraged baillie instantly replied, with purple visage and in his sternest tones, "Wumin, I'm no a

man, I'm a magistrate!" Mr. Henry Booth was a *man, and* a magistrate, and, if we do not greatly mistake his character, attached greater importance and higher dignity to manhood than to magistracy. In the limited space to be occupied by the remainder of this sketch, we purpose to refer briefly to a few of Mr. Booth's writings upon other than what may be called railway subjects. The object of such reference will not be to attempt an analytical review of Mr. Booth's writings, or to give a digest of them, —an attempt that must inevitably prove abortive,— but to make use of them, in so far as we may be able to do so within reasonable limits, as illustrations from the subjects discussed, and the manner of discussion, of the character of the man.

A poet, who died very young, said finely of his works, "I have written my heart in my poems." It would be bombastical to say of Mr. Booth that he has left his heart in his pamphlets and other works, but it would not be too much to say that his writings cannot fail to convince any thoughtful reader that he was a man of extraordinary and varied ability, unaffected sincerity, intense earnestness, remarkable originality, thorough independence, and the most transparent honesty of purpose. The first set of his writings to which we shall refer are those which he composed as a man and a citizen, upon topics affecting the common weal.

The production which we have mentioned first at the head of this chapter, was an address upon Free Trade to the Parliament as Reformed in 1832. That great subject was not then as popular or as well understood as it was after Messrs. Cobden and

Bright entered upon their grand campaign. In his introduction, Mr. Booth admits that the principles of free trade "have been ably expounded in various works of the highest authority," and that the question, as included in distinct branches of trade, had been powerfully but separately illustrated. Thus, the bearing of the question as affecting the corn, silk, sugar, and timber trades, the export of machinery, the shipping, and the East and West India interests, had all been discussed; but, he adds, "the PEOPLE have been too much forgotten," and the object of his address was to treat the question as one of "popular interest and high practical importance; as intimately affecting the substantial well-being of the nation." This object is ably accomplished, and the mischievous effects of "protection," as applied to various interests, are exposed with great lucidity and force. The address displays intimate knowledge of commercial affairs, statesman-like power, and a thoroughly philanthropic spirit. On the subject of emigration, the writer says:—"We have population, capital, enterprise, skill, and industry, with the most useful minerals in rich abundance—all the elements of national aggrandizement and individual prosperity, *save one*—WE WANT LAND. But because we want land or the produce of land, shall we, in the day-dream of our philanthropy, expect relief, by exporting annually a few thousands of our surplus population to Swan River or Kangaroo Island? Is not the produce of land to be obtained nearer home? And are not the people of this country, even the poorest of them, willing and able to defray the cost of bringing it to our shores? Must

we for ever strive to realize the fable of Mahomet and the mountain, by vainly attempting to transport the nation to food, instead of bringing food to the nation?" Whether this reference to emigration was meant to apply to this country as if true for all time, we will not wait to inquire, but we venture to think the following quotations permanently applicable:—"The inculcation of right principles can hardly be successful amidst privation and suffering. The physical condition of the people must *first* be improved. A higher standard must be established of what constitutes the *necessaries* of life; the ambition of the labourer must be stimulated; his tastes must be elevated; low habits must be eradicated; he must be enabled to carry into practice the moralist's exhortation to rely for happiness on respectability of character, on conscious independence, and a higher quality of domestic comforts. Better feelings and habits are essential to secure that moral and mental cultivation, which alone can render the desired improvement permanent." . . . . . "Abject and hopeless poverty offers temptations to crime, which matured virtue could with difficulty withstand. Ignorant and destitute, the victims of untoward circumstances submit, without a struggle, to their destiny. The cravings of hunger are supplied by illegal spoliation: we are surprised at the degeneracy of the age, and penal statutes are inflicted and punishments multiplied to aggravate the evil. Melancholy experience has not yet taught us that the first step in moral and intellectual education is to remove temptation to crime. We would fain reap a harvest of good fruits, without preparing

the soil or fostering a single process of the cultivation."

"The Rationale of the Currency Question" is a production of a nature precluding the possibility of quotation, the argument and statement of the case being sustained and connected throughout. Mr. Booth concludes his case by claiming justice for the British merchant and for the industrious classes. "We claim that our monetary law, and the principles and management of our National Bank, be such as to uphold and encourage and give full and free scope to the enterprise and capital of a hard-working, indefatigable people."

Mr. Henry Booth was not known as a prominent party politician, as with social or other questions he followed his own independent course. Questions of currency and finance were much in his way, and, akin to them, the incidence of taxation attracted his attention. In 1860 he joined issue with the Financial Reform Association in a pamphlet—"Taxation, Direct and Indirect," being a reply to the Report of the Association of the previous year.

A prominent allegation of the Report, to which Mr. Booth directed his reply, was, that £23,000,000 of the revenue consist of import duties on tea, coffee, sugar, wines, spirits, and tobacco; by means of which, five shillings in the pound are extracted from the wages of the "toiling millions," for the protection of the rich and powerful. The Report further stated that the great bulk of the taxes is levied "from labour instead of from property; that it is calculated, for instance, that a working man who earns 20s. a week, and has a wife and three children

to maintain, pays at a low computation one-fourth of his wages in taxes upon articles of consumption, and in prices enhanced beyond the mere amount of the taxes;" and it is asked, "Does the possessor of £100,000 per annum pay £25,000? He ought to do so, if every man were now taxed in proportion to his abilities."

Mr. Booth addresses himself to a calm consideration of these statements, and makes a reply, to which justice cannot be done in our brief space. He analyses the expenditure of an income of £10,000 a year, and shows the large proportion of it that is expended in labour;—to colliers, coach-builders, harness-makers, tailors, shoe-makers, *et hoc genus omne*. The country gentleman is thus largely, and not very remotely, an employer of labour, and is the distributor of the wages that are applied to the purchase of tea, sugar, spirits, and tobacco. In addition to this, the rich man pays directly a large number of servants and labourers, gardeners, grooms, foresters, and what not. He sends his boys to Harrow or Eton, and there distributes a liberal part of his income among professional men. He may also be a patron of the Fine Arts. His ample pecuniary means reach far beyond his own household and the tradesmen and workmen whom he employs, —they permeate and diffuse themselves among benevolent institutions, literary and scientific circles, the regions of education, and the fine arts; giving encouragement to their votaries, all labourers in their several vocations. Mr. Booth pictures the effect of levying £2,500 per annum upon the £10,000, in lieu of Customs and Excise Duties. A carriage

is put down, household establishment reduced, gardeners, labourers, and stablemen discharged, expenditure among shopkeepers and tradespeople curtailed, rigid economy practised in every department. He then refers to the disastrous effect such a change—a direct tax of 5s. in the pound—would have upon small fund-holders, many of them living as gentlewomen upon £120 to £150 per annum, or less; professional men with large families and limited incomes, parish clergymen, and numerous other classes. The Report contends that "indirect taxation is unjust as well as uncertain, because, wherever the revenue is mainly derived from it, the subject is enabled to escape his fair share of the expense of government, which ought to fall equal on all." Mr. Booth replies, "The quality of adaptation to circumstances, which the Report considers an objection, we regard as a special advantage. Besides the instances referred to, take the case of two individuals, each in possession of £300 per annum. One of them, a bachelor, feels himself at liberty, if he think proper, to expend on 'wine, spirits, and tobacco,' for the gratification of himself and his friends, £30 or £40 per annum. The other, having a wife and children to support on his limited means, wisely restricts himself to an expenditure, on these luxuries, of £5 per annum instead of £40. On a rigid system of Direct Taxation, the tax-gatherer knocks at the door, and, with iron uniformity, demands £30 per annum from each household." Mr. Booth objects to the proposal as tending to such a revolution in our fiscal policy as may confer an immediate temporary benefit on *two-thirds* of our population, at the ex-

pense of the remaining *one-third*, or of that portion of the one-third which possesses property, with special immunity to the working classes, from even the semblance of taxation, for the future.

Referring to the then proposed extension of political power to the industrial classes, Mr. Booth objects that it would give them a voice in taxing all classes of the community—but themselves.

"Let our Members of Parliament consider whether this is a consummation to be wished. Let them weigh well the solemn obligation imposed on them, to inquire—what is to be the sequel to the political coincidence we have named?"

Arguing, as he does, from the statements in the Report of 1859, Mr. Booth's case is, we think, invulnerable. In some of their subsequent issues, the Financial Reform Association have proposed, for the time at least, a retention of the spirits, wine, and tobacco duties, which gives, of course, a totally different aspect to the case. Whether Mr. Booth's "Reply" influenced the Association in modifying its model "budget," we are not prepared to say.

CHAPTER X.

Master and man.—The struggle for existence.—Advice to working men.—The poor married curate.

He had the manners of a gentleman, the morals of a Christian, the profundity of a philosopher, and the practical activity of the man of business. He was master of whatever he studied, but no one assumed less the airs of superiority. He was a faithful servant of truth, which he followed with conscientious integrity wherever it led him. He sought for knowledge wherever it was to be found, and yielded to reason wherever it appeared. —*Biographical Sketch of John Locke.*

WHATEVER Mr. Henry Booth may have been in his politics he gives abundant evidence that he was a Radical as a writer. He in all cases used his best endeavour to get at the *root* of whatever subject he undertook to expound and discuss, and never undertook exposition until he had got at the root of the subject to his own satisfaction. He had a mind "covetous of truth" that sought after that, and sought after it impartially. Having found truth he never failed to embrace and to hold by it.

He took a warm and practical interest in the education and the moral and social condition of the working classes, and was ever ready with his purse or pen, his co-operation or counsel, to promote any well-judged scheme for their advantage. In discussing the questions affecting their condition, he was less concerned to make things pleasant—to preach "smooth things"—than to exhibit first principles; to lay broad and deep a foundation

whereon they might build safely and hopefully. His little volume, "Master and Man," was written specially for the benefit of the working classes, and is admirably adapted to serve its intended purpose. It consists of twelve sections, in which the important topics are discussed of the Franchise and the Ballot; Competition, Supply and Demand, Capital and Labour; Population, Education, Emigration, and the Poor Laws, with a chapter on Luxury. The form of the treatise is, we think, a mistake—that of familiar dialogue. The author attempted what we venture to think an impossible feat, that of discussing moot points from opposite poles, or stand-points. The "man" is almost of necessity a mere automaton, who advances divers fallacies, and is made to state sundry misapprehensions; the fallacies are demolished, and the misapprehensions are corrected by the "master," who is really, though it may be unintentionally, represented by the author. Although the "man" is invariably worsted in the argument, it must be admitted that his case is fairly and honestly put, to the best, we believe, of human possibility.

In relation to Free Trade, Mr. Booth long ago advocated principles that have since become the basis of law; so, in like manner, he, twenty years since, advocated the extension of popular instruction upon principles that have been regarded with intermittent, yet growing favour ever since, that have again come to the front, with a strong probability of receiving legislative sanction ere long. "Master and Man," in which this important question is discussed, is, in fact, a series of able treatises

upon the important topics with which it deals. It abounds in what may be pronounced "Apples of gold in pictures of silver." We quote almost at random,—"The working man must learn that his condition, for good or for evil, must ever, in a great measure, depend on his own exertions. . . . His exertions must be those of the mind, the character, and the conduct. He must learn to forego in some degree present gratification for the sake of future good. He must take a calm view of his condition, and make a solemn resolution to improve it. . . . He must work the most when wages are the highest, which is the opposite course to that too frequently pursued, though the only course affording a fair chance of comfort and independence. . . . Prudence and forethought must be combined with industry and determination before a working man can make himself secure against the ordinary vicissitudes of life: the one thing needed is honest, strenuous, persevering determination. Each man for himself."

"The Struggle for Existence" is a work dealing more fully with one of the topics—population—discussed by "master and man." In this brochure the author grapples courageously and successfully with a difficult, uninviting, and painful topic. He was not a man

> "To finger idly some old Gordian knot,
> Unskill'd to sunder, and too weak to cleave,
> And with much toil attain to half-believe."

This remarkable treatise contains more numerous quotations than any other of the author's writings

with which we are acquainted, but it is something far other and higher than a mere compilation. The materials have been industriously collected, with a keen discrimination as to their fitness, and are knit together with consummate skill. The conclusion arrived at is practically the same as that of Malthus. Malthus adopted Wallace's theory, but the premises and treatment are, in so far as we know, entirely the author's own in "The Struggle for Existence." The author seeks instruction in relation to over-population by observing how Nature deals with somewhat similar difficulties. "Some hints may be derived from analogy. Let us observe the animal world in its normal state—birds, beasts, fishes, and insects. *How profuse is Nature of animal life!* What prodigious powers of increase! But the forces of Nature are ever nicely balanced, and we shall find that undue multiplication is brought to its arithmetical equilibrium by corresponding destruction." Illustrations are given of the enormous production and consumption of the various orders of creatures. Estimated annual consumption in the three kingdoms:—

Head of Cattle	1,000,000
Sheep	8,000,000
Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks ...	36,000,000
Eggs...	1,500,000,000

Fish brought into Billingsgate Market alone every year:—

Herrings	37,500,000
Mackerel	24,000,000
Soles	98,000,000
Oysters	500,000,000

So also with other kinds of animal life. A pair of sparrows during the time they are feeding their young destroy several thousands of caterpillars in a week. Nature, the author points out, preserves the equilibrium with or without the intervention of man. Reverting to man, the grand doctrine is laid down that the regulating power in his case must be *human intellect* in lieu of the *animal instinct.* "Practically, then," he writes, "in what way, or by what instrumentality, are the acknowledged natural powers of increase, in the human race, at present counteracted? The reply is not consolatory. In the middle ranks, and amongst the wealthier classes, no doubt, intelligence, forethought, and a rational *regard to the future*, happily interpose, to some considerable extent, the element of *prevention*, in lieu of the terrible agencies of *destruction*. But I am afraid that the broad and more general answer must be, that the natural increase of the human race, in this country, is counteracted by the destructive forces of poverty, with its consequent sickness and premature death. . . . Man is subject to the same natural laws [as the lower animals], with heavy penalties for disobedience; but the *reason*, which is given him for his guide, he wilfully ignores. Thoughtless and self-complacent, he follows the bent of his inclination, and the gratification of his immediate desires. Aimless and objectless, man produces, after his kind, while poverty and privation carry on simultaneously the inevitable work of destruction." He refers with commendation to the legal hindrances to improvident marriages in Norway, Wurtemburg, Bavaria, &c. "I address

myself," he goes on to say, "to the working classes. At the outset of life (for a brief space it may be) you are generally independent. Your determination should be to remain so; but you have not resolution for the task. You lack ambition —calm, persistent, well-regulated ambition—the object being to *maintain, at least*, if not to *improve*, your condition in life. You are too easily satisfied; content with too low a standard, not only in regard to the physical comforts of life, but as to the capabilities of your nature; as to that strength of righteous purpose which is within your reach, and which you ought to strive to attain. . . . . In the midst of our modern civilization the same difficulties [redundant population] beset us; but as far as possible we ignore so disagreeable a subject. Not a whisper of it is heard in our schools and institutes, neither on our platforms nor from our pulpits. Strangely, we connive at the inevitable result. By the slow but sure working of those inexorable agents of destruction, insufficient food, hunger, sickness, and a thousand discomforts, nearly one-third of the human race, in these realms, die before they arrive at man's estate. . . . You claim to be considered moral, intellectual, religious; your hope of success, therefore, should rest on moral and religious grounds. The law or principle of population would seem to be ordained, amongst other reasons, to stimulate to the exercise of some of our higher faculties—self-reliance, courage, patience." The philosophic cautery is applied impartially to men learned in divinity and in physic, and other classes, occupying places in the social

scale far above the platform occupied by the "lower orders." The case of a "poor married curate," with a family of several young children and only £80 a year for their support, who had made an appeal *ad misericordiam* in the *Times*, is thus commented on:—"Very possibly the writer of this pathetic appeal was an amiable and a pious minister; but he wanted the sterner virtues which constitute the manly character—forethought, self-reliance, fortitude, patience. He had not courage to buffet with the ills of life, nor resolution perseveringly to work out for himself a happier future. Whilst still a single man he was independent. His duty was to labour and to wait; but instead of this pusillanimously he seeks a trusting, too confiding woman to bear, as he imagines, half his burthen. Recklessly he becomes the father, as he tells us, of several young children, with no prospect for the future, if his own life be spared to them, but a hard struggle for existence; and should he, in the vicissitudes of a few years, be removed from amongst them, leaving to his offspring no heritage but a life of poverty, privation, and sorrow. And so the world drags on; every one deploring the hard battle of life, the constant struggle for existence, whilst every one, at the same time, does what in him lies to render the battle severe and the struggle perpetual."

CHAPTER XI.

Letter to Francis Shand, Esq., Mayor, on the approaches to St. George's Hall, Liverpool.—Considerations on the licensing question.—The question of comparative punishments for offences against the person and against the pocket.

Nec temere nec timide.—*Booth family motto.*

Mr. Booth's keen perceptive faculties in relation alike to physical, mental, and moral objects, arrangements, and operations; his utter inability to rest satisfied or quiescent with what he considered unsightly, incongruous, mischievous, or in any sense improper, if he thought remedy or improvement possible or practicable, impelled him to take up the pen and to offer his suggestion, remonstrance, or protest, as the case might be, in connection with all sorts of questions and subjects, as he was brought more or less closely into contact with them, and almost exposed him to the charge of being a pessimist. He never complained of anything, however, without showing, with manly courage and remarkable ability, "the reason why." At different stages of his life we find him occupied with different classes of subjects. Mainly, but not exclusively, with railway subjects, during his official life, but even then, fully as they might have sufficed to

absorb the entire time and energies of a man of ordinary capabilities and more than ordinary industry, we find him discussing grave and difficult questions of public concernment; as, for instance, in his "Master and Man," "Rationale of the Currency," and sundry works already referred to. So, in like manner, the letter to Mr. Shand, the mayor, was written before his official connection with the London and North-Western Railway had ceased. Mr. Booth was a member of the St. George's Hall committee, as will be found from the roll of names upon the memorial brass in the Great Hall. He was a man incapable of holding office or trust of any kind, without devoting to it his energies in a conscientious, earnest, whole-hearted manner. The approaches to the fine Hall offended his æsthetic sense, which was very keen, and the letter is a clever piece of art-criticism, and probably one of the most caustic writings he produced. The writer illustrated his letter to the mayor by a model, exhibiting his suggested improvements in the approaches.

On being placed upon the commission as a magistrate for the borough of Liverpool, Mr. Booth, although then a man of advanced years, entered with characteristic zeal and activity upon the duties of the office. In that capacity, the subjects dealt with in the other two pamphlets, of which the titles are given above, were forced upon his attention. The procedure of the Liverpool bench in relation to the liquor-traffic has excited much interest and attention throughout the country, and it was to be expected that the subject would receive special consideration from a man of Mr. Booth's mental nature and calibre.

His conclusions are gravely and deliberately laid before his brother magistrates and the public in the pamphlet before us. The author does not revile the drink-seller's occupation, as is so often done, but he deprecates associated drink-sellers becoming, as they have done through the "Licensed Victuallers' Association" and their "Protection Society," a formidable "insidious" political power in the State; and speaks of the "blight" caused by the "baneful working of this political engine." The principle upon which he would grant licenses to applicants is simple and intelligible, and, in so far as we know, original. He recommends that the bench should retain a veto upon the grants, to be exercised in special cases, but that for the rest no preference or favouritism whatever should be shown or exercised. Assuming that the house for which a license is asked is fit and proper, so far as the required accommodation can make it so, and that the applicant is apparently a fit and proper person to hold a license, Mr. Booth recommended that the license should be granted, even although the houses on each side of the one applied for should be already licensed houses; that is the affair of those who go into the trade. Absolute impartiality—no monopoly—is the clear intelligible principle recommended. The revised cost of the license in Mr. Booth's scheme is an important feature; namely, one uniform license for the sale of fermented drinks graduated according to population. For Liverpool, the uniform charge should be £30 per annum; the general average, hitherto, having been £15 for 1,500 licensed public-houses in Liverpool, and £3 per annum for 1,300

beer-houses. The question is ably argued by Mr. Booth, who concludes thus: — "Tell them [the Ministry] you mean to deal equally with all applicants who bring their claims before the Bench for adjudication. You are not required to do more; you ought not to do less. For the result, legislation must be responsible.

"For the rest, if the Licensed Victuallers see plainly that the magistrates are determined to dispense the same measure of justice to all applicants, and that no preferential allowances or exemptions can be tolerated, I apprehend, under the circumstances, they will not object to a high uniform license-charge; the tendency of such high charge being obviously to give respectability to their calling and to limit, to a considerable extent, the number of future applicants."

The only other writing by Mr. Booth to which we will refer is upon a subject of interest to the entire community, and we can scarcely doubt that the strong common-sense and right feeling exhibited in his very vigorous appeal to his brother magistrates will command the sympathy and approval of almost every reader. He appeals against the comparatively lenient sentences passed upon offenders against the *person*, as compared with those passed upon offenders who violate the sacredness of *property*. The theft from the person of a few shillings, or even pence, if by a known offender, is visited with a sentence of from seven to fourteen years' penal servitude, whereas a case of brutal maltreatment of the person is dealt with by a few months' imprisonment. A large number of illustrative cases taken from the "Quarter Sessions

Calendar of Prisoners " are given. We will quote a few only—the first on the list, and others—" Edward Smith, charged with stealing *five pence* from the person of Margaret Yates—found guilty of larceny from the person, after a previous conviction, and sentenced to *fourteen years' penal servitude.* James Dougherty, charged with stealing one purse, three halfpence, three tickets, and a postage-stamp, was found guilty of larceny from the person, and sentenced to *seven years' penal servitude.* Alfred Smith, charged with having unlawfully and maliciously inflicted upon George Outlain grievous bodily harm—found guilty, sentenced to *four calendar months, with hard labour.* James Keeling, for throwing a brick-bat, weighing 3 lb. at the head of Mr. Henry Howard, landlord of the Waterloo Hotel, Birkenhead, which struck him on the bridge of the nose, which was fractured, and the eye also severely injured—*committed to gaol for two months.*" Referring to these monstrous decisions, Mr. Booth says :—" Let us make the case our own, and then decide how far the measure of punishment usually inflicted is proportioned to the gravity of the offence, or, in other words, to the injury done. Let us be fully persuaded in our own mind. Do we object more decidedly to have our head broken, or our pocket picked? For myself, I would rather have my pocket picked ' of one purse, three halfpence, three tickets, and a postage-stamp,' thrice over, than have my head broken with a poker, or my face brought into rude contact with a well-aimed brick-bat, which condition of things would constitute, in appropriate phraseology, ' grievous bodily harm.'

"As mankind emerges from savage barbarism, the first effort of civilization is to establish a code of laws, of which the primary object is to protect the weak against the strong. By slow degrees, intelligence, with its combinations and contrivances, becomes a match for brute force; but unceasing vigilance is necessary to maintain the superiority once gained; and it seems extraordinary that now, in our advanced civilization, in any collision between the righteous man and the wrong-doer, we show special leniency and favour to those who, in their offences against society, display the old barbarism of violence and brute force, as compared with our treatment of those who in transgressions against the commonweal, though they show little respect for our pockets, at least use no violence against our persons. Just the reverse should be our course of proceeding." As an economical question, Mr. Booth objects to being a party to the provision of clothing, food, and lodging for fourteen years to an able-bodied man of the name of Edward Smith, because one Margaret Yates has suffered damage at his hands to the extent of "five pence." In this pamphlet Mr. Booth has some admirably judicious remarks upon prison discipline. The entire statement is an unanswerable appeal to common sense and the instincts of humanity.

CHAPTER XII.

Conclusion.—Estimate of character.—Sketch of character by a personal friend.

> He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
> Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading;
> Lofty, and sour, to them that lov'd him not;
> But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
>
> *Shakespeare.* Henry VIII.

We now conclude, but without self-satisfaction with the mode in which we have presented the subject of our sketch to the reader. The partial and imperfect notice of Mr. Booth's writings will, it is hoped, give a fuller conception of his character than could have been conveyed without such notice, especially in the case of those readers unacquainted with them. They cannot fail, fragmentary although the notices are, to convey an impression that he was an earnest, able, industrious, and in all the relations of life, a highly exemplary man. He was, as might be supposed, very regular and methodical in his habits. His absence from his accustomed place of worship caused inquiry, and was a circumstance which needed to be accounted for. He was practically acquainted with the valuable, though homely, "saws" of "Poor Richard," "Every thing in its place, and a place for everything;" "Put not off till to-morrow what

should be done to-day." His habitual action upon these maxims inculcating order, promptitude, economy of time, and such like common-place, although not common, habits, aided him greatly in getting through the amazing amount of work he took upon himself. He was not a quick writer, and was very fastidious and severe in the criticism and judgment of his own literary productions. He revised carefully, and re-revised, and exercised the rare and self-denying virtue of taking time to make his writing as short as possible. In this he acted more wisely than William Cobbett advises in his admirable English Grammar, when he says :—"Never think of *mending* what you write. Let it go. No patching—no after-pointing." He possessed the quality indispensable to effective writing—a quality far from universal among writers—of understanding perfectly himself what he wished to convey to others.

Mr. Booth was invited to take a place on the Liverpool borough bench soon after his retirement from the London and North-Western in 1859, and continued to act regularly, greatly to the satisfaction of his colleagues and of the public, until about the end of 1867, when the growing infirmities of age compelled him to withdraw, which he did, much to the regret of his brother magistrates. If all our Justices possessed and exercised the high qualifications which distinguished Mr. Booth, the oft-repeated, perhaps fairly provoked, satires and comments upon the "great unpaid" and "Justices' justice" would be left unuttered.

It has been said that "Mr. Booth was not a genial

man." Perhaps not—his manner was not prepossessing. He was somewhat angular, and to strangers, those who only saw the outer husk—the casket, but not the jewel,—he was not winning. He was a diffident man, naturally of a retiring disposition; he was not demonstrative, and the reverse of obtrusive. Those who were acquainted with the best side of his nature had to acquire their knowledge and appreciation of him by meeting him more than half way. He was intimately known to comparatively few persons, but by these, without a single exception, he was regarded with the honour and affection which only true excellence of heart and rectitude of life can command. Some men, who, when abroad, are regarded by ladies, young and old, as "very nice," are feared and disliked at home; others, who are the ornaments of polite society, are the objects of the ill-disguised contempt of their own wives, children, and servants. Mr. Booth was the opposite of all these. He was an honour and an ornament to the seat of justice he long occupied so worthily; he was universally esteemed by his fellow-labourers and by his fellow-townsmen, and the more highly esteemed the better he was known; and, highest and best test of a man and testimony of his goodness, he was devotedly beloved in the bosom of his own family; and thus must end our notes of this noteworthy member of the band of "great captains of modern civilization, the peaceful conquerors of time and space"—HENRY BOOTH.

Since the above was written, we have been favoured, in compliance with our own urgent request,

with the following sketch from a highly esteemed correspondent, who enjoyed many years of personal friendship with Mr. Booth. Those readers who recognize the initials will be able to join in our appreciation of this contribution.

"My dear Sir,—If I have any hesitation or difficulty in complying with your complimentary request that I should give some account of my impressions of the late Mr. Henry Booth, it arises solely from the completeness with which you have not merely written the business life, but sketched the character of my departed friend. One sometimes wonders how a posthumous portrait, painted by an artist who never saw the original, is yet so good a likeness; and thus I feel in reading your memoir, and the more because Mr. Booth was not a man easily to be known. He did not 'wear his heart upon his sleeve,' and 'daws,' finding nothing they could 'peck at,' were apt to draw a very false conclusion. He was a grave, reserved, reticent, somewhat even stern man, more given to listening than to talking, weighing well his words before he uttered them, and his manner inspired in others a similar moderation, if not cautiousness in speech. In his presence frivolity and gossip were unconsciously rebuked. The long and constant habit of dealing with interests of vast complexity and importance, the weight of responsibility ever resting upon him, a weight which would have crushed feebler men, though it only steadied and strengthened him, and the knowledge that so many were accustomed to look to him for guidance and advice,—all this could not but have its effect on natures much more buoyant and impulsive than was his.

"That he should be misunderstood by many was inevitable. As in the case of Turgot, and other eminent men, the reserve of a diffident yet self-respecting integrity, which shrank from exaggerated or lightly-considered utterance, was apt to be mistaken for the taciturnity incident to pride or coldness of nature. It was in action, rather than in words, that his thoughts found needful, fitting, and ample vent.

"We, who accept with as little gratitude as wonder the marvellous results of our railway system,—who complain of the slightest delay or inconvenience, and in whose estimate the slightest casual annoyance outweighs a thousand continuous and unspeakable benefits,—find it difficult, if we even try, to realize the enormous difficulties of the first beginning and the early progress, and the amount of forethought needed in anticipation of all experience, not merely to organize, but to adapt to ever-shifting exigencies, and to provide for the rapid growth of an organization which developed itself simultaneously on so many sides, which was ever outgrowing the wisest arrangements, and demanding ever wider extension and more complex combinations. In this gigantic work, of which the issues only were apparent, while the processes went on behind the scenes, the main agent throughout was really Mr. Booth; and though to the public generally his name has not yet been so familiar as that of some others, his merit has been, as you recount, frankly recognized by those whose position gave them a knowledge of the facts. To many who read your memoir it will be a new discovery to learn that, even in mechanical difficulties,

Mr. Booth gave efficient aid, and that to him are due both the multitubular boiler and the mode (still in use) of coupling carriages. It was in other fields, however, that his greatest services were rendered, and his very peculiar talents were exercised.

"He was too much engrossed by his labours to think much about himself. No one could be further removed than he from all self-assertion or love of display. He aimed directly at the ends he had in view, and he turned neither to the right nor to the left to gather the applause of lookers-on. A striking instance was he of what has often been observed, that when the world needs a new and a great work to be done, the man required to do it is ever forthcoming. In this case 'the hour and the man' came signally together. Is it surprising that cares so manifold should have left on him a deep trace of gravity? Rather, it is surprising that below the surface there were unimpaired a quiet geniality, kindliness not unmixed with love of humour, as well as a sincere interest in most of the various pursuits of men in public and in private.

"By those who knew him most intimately he was most beloved; respected and trusted by all, it was in the friendly, and, still more, in the domestic circle that his real excellence was best to be discerned. Above all things, he was a just and truthful man. His life training had deeply impressed on him the value of fact, of reality in both things and words. Accuracy was to him a necessary of life: from the moral side as well as the intellectual, from commercial and mechanical experience alike, had the